

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| SIGNED DECLARATION | 1 |
| AFFIDAVIT OF TITLE | 2 |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | 3 |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | 4 |

THE FIRST AND SECOND EARLS OF RUTLAND AND THEIR PART
IN THE CENTRAL AND LOCAL POLITICS OF
MID-TUDOR ENGLAND

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|----|
| Chapter 1 | THE YOUNG EARL, 1535-54 | 42 |
|-----------|-------------------------|----|

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------|----|
| Chapter 2 | Mark Marston Norris | 61 |
|-----------|---------------------|----|

| | | |
|-----------|--|----|
| Chapter 3 | CONSTITUENCY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE FLEET, 1542-53 | 91 |
|-----------|--|----|

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Chapter 4 | COMING TO TERMS WITH THE MARINE ENGINE, 1543-5 | 117 |
|-----------|---|-----|

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Chapter 5 | STONOR VELGON UNDER ELIZABETH, 1558-61 | 174 |
|-----------|---|-----|

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| Chapter 6 | CONCLUSION: THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN APPROPRIATE | 201 |
|-----------|--|-----|

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| Appendix A | IDENTIFIED ORIGINATOR OF THE EARL AND HIS TUDOR MARINE ENGINE | 239 |
|------------|---|-----|

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| Appendix B | STONOR VELGON OF THE MARINE ENGINE, 1543-5 | 239 |
|------------|---|-----|

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| Appendix C | THE SECOND EARL OF RUTLAND'S OF MID-TUDOR ENGLAND, 1551-2 TRANSCRIPTIONS OF HIS 1551 | 243 |
|------------|---|-----|

| | | |
|------------|--|-----|
| Appendix D | TRANSCRIPTION OF HIS TRANSCRIPTION OF HIS PROPERTY IN 1551 | 243 |
|------------|--|-----|

Ph.D.

The University of Edinburgh

1995



TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| SIGNED DECLARATION | 2 |
| ABSTRACT OF THESIS | 3 |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | 5 |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | 8 |
| FORWARD | 10 |
| Chapter 1 -- BEGINNINGS | 14 |
| Chapter 2 -- THE YOUNG EARL, 1525-36 | 42 |
| Chapter 3 -- WAR, SERVICE, AND PROFIT, 1536-43 | 61 |
| Chapter 4 -- CONTINUITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE FLEET, 1543-53 | 91 |
| Chapter 5 -- COMING TO TERMS WITH THE MARIAN REGIME, 1553-8 | 137 |
| Chapter 6 -- HIGHER FAVOUR UNDER ELIZABETH, 1558-63 | 174 |
| Chapter 7 -- CONCLUSION: THE ACHIEVEMENT IN PERSPECTIVE | 201 |
| Appendix A -- ABBREVIATED GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY AND MID-TUDOR MANNERS FAMILY | 238 |
| Appendix B -- PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE MANNERS ON JPS AND MPS, c.1545-53 (3 charts) ... | 239 |
| Appendix C -- THE SECOND EARL OF RUTLAND'S BAND OF MEN-AT-ARMS, 1551-2 (including transcriptions of BCA 50 and BCMD 1552) | 243 |
| Appendix D -- TRANSCRIPTION OF BCB 1552 (dis- mantelling of Rievaulx Abbey property in 1552) | 277 |
| Appendix E -- TRANSCRIPTION OF BCL iii, p. 37 (instructions to prepare Rutland's servants and tenants for military service in 1557) | 279 |
| Appendix F -- TRANSCRIPTION OF BCW 14 (the will of the second earl of Rutland) | 282 |
| Appendix G -- BIBLIOGRAPHY | 316 |

SIGNED DECLARATION

In accordance with regulation 2.4.15 of the Postgraduate Study Programme of the University of Edinburgh, I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that I am the sole author.

Signed

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis investigates the role of Thomas and Henry Manners, first and second earls of Rutland, in the central and local politics of mid-Tudor England. In so doing, five factors are scrutinized throughout: landed property, political and military office-holding, Court politics, religion, and the Manners' network of friends, servants, and relatives. The thesis is divided into seven chapters, the first six of which explore how most or all of these factors influenced the political life of the family during a segment of time. The final chapter compares and contrasts the achievement of the Manners with other noble families.

Chapter 1 deals with the beginnings of the family until the creation of Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, as earl of Rutland in 1525. The next chapter studies the political life of the new earl until 1536 and particularly emphasizes his being drawn into Henry's religious policy. Chapter 3 reveals the effects of his involvement in suppressing the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace, his increasing employment in the service of the Crown, and his ability to profit from the Dissolution of the Monasteries until his death in 1543. By this time the family had reached its Tudor economic peak.

The themes of continuity and development are explored from the wardship of the next earl until his imprisonment in the Fleet for supporting Northumberland

in the Lady Jane Grey crisis. This is followed by a chapter which probes the young earl's ability to come to terms with the Marian regime. Chapter 6 reveals that he experienced even higher favour during Elizabeth's reign, culminating in his office of president of the Council of the North, during which he fell ill and died in 1563.

It is seen that the mid-Tudor Manners were able firmly to establish a powerbase in the north-east Midlands, to continue their involvement in the North, and to pass on a pattern of office-holding which would be utilized by successive earls of Rutland. Further, they were able to weather the turbulent mid-Tudor high politics because they were able to demonstrate that they were too useful and loyal to the Crown to be ignored and yet not dangerous enough to be eliminated.

In comparison with other nobles at the time they were successful; and yet, they were in many ways typical of the high nobility. In fact, the story of the mid-Tudor Manners demonstrates that if there was a mid-Tudor crisis it was, at least in part, a crisis in the highest levels of leadership. The ruling powers during this time failed to make effective use of these willing and highly important servants of the Crown, and instead tended to place personal ambition or ideology above good governing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Paul C. Norris, for their generous financial help and encouragement throughout my post-graduate education. I would further like to thank my grandparents, the late Mr. and Mrs. Dewey Marston also for their financial support. In addition, other members of my family have been encouraging and supportive and I would like to thank them as a group, lest I forget to include someone. London Good-enough Trust, of which I am a fellow, receives my deep appreciation for allowing me to reside in the centrally located and serene William Goodenough House during my lengthy stay in England. I am also appreciative of the history and political science department at York College of Pennsylvania and the history department at Millersville University of Pennsylvania for providing me with small travelling grants.

My principal supervisor, Mr. A.J.A. Malkiewicz, directed my interest towards the mid-Tudor period and first suggested that I pursue a study of the earls of Rutland. He has also shown a keen interest and has given helpful and knowledgeable advice throughout my research and writing. Dr. Frances Dow, my other supervisor, was instrumental in helping me, especially during the early stages, in developing the structure and flow of my thesis.

Other scholars have given me the benefit of their

knowledge either by passing on to me important references (for which they have been separately noted) or by offering advice. Among these were Dr. David Crook, Dr. Richard Hoyle, Dr. Amanda Bevan, Mr. James Murray, Mr. Gervase Hood, Dr. Richard C. Barnett, Dr. Diane Willen, Mr. Philip Ward, Dr. Charles Moreton, Dr. Paul Hammer, Dr. Robert Tittler, Ms Janice Housez, Dr. David Starkey, and Miss Anita Hewerdine. I read earlier versions of chapter four to Dr. John Brown's Modern Research Seminar at the University of Edinburgh, to Professor Conrad Russell's Tudor and Stuart seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, and to the Southern Conference on British Studies in Orlando, Florida, and was given helpful new insights at all three. The participants in the Tenth Harlaxton Symposium, hosted by Harlaxton College in Grantham, Lincolnshire, were receptive and gave enlightening comments to a paper I gave there which has now been incorporated into chapter one. Also helpful were the comments and suggestions given when I read a version of chapter five to the Northeast Conference on British Studies which met at Bentley College, Massachusetts. I would like to thank Mrs. Joyce M. Horn of the Institute of Historical Research for her editorial advice and insight in regard to appendix C.

In some of the libraries and archives I visited I am sure that I taxed the patience of the staffs to such a

degree that they deserve special recognition. These include the staffs at the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh's main library, the British Library, and at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.

Further, I would like to thank his grace, the duke of Rutland for generously allowing me access to his muniment room in Belvoir Castle. I am also deeply indebted to Mrs. Dorothy Staveley, his personal secretary, and Mr. Philip Staveley, both of whom have charge of his muniment room, for their generous and kind help during my research trips there.

Other archives and libraries I visited less frequently, but was nevertheless also given helpful and courteous assistance. These include the Bodleian Library, the Corpus Christi College Library, the College of Arms, the Lincolnshire Archives, the Folger Shakespeare Library (in Washington D.C.), the Schmidt Library (at York College of Pennsylvania), and the Ganser Library (Millersville University). I would also like to thank the faculty and staff at the academic computer centre at York College for their expertise during the critical moments of the final writing up period.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank Mrs. Marla G. Norris, my wife, for proof-reading the final draft and for the never ending support she gave me during these long, difficult, and occasionally rewarding years of post-graduate research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS¹

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Add MSS | Additional Manuscripts. |
| <u>APC</u> | <u>The Acts of the Privy Council.</u> |
| BCA | Belvoir Castle Accounts. |
| BCAM | Belvoir Castle Additional Manuscripts. |
| BCB | Belvoir Castle Bills. |
| BCG | Belvoir Castle Grants. |
| BCL | Belvoir Castle Letters. |
| BCL&PS | Belvoir Castle Letters and Papers. Supplementary. |
| BCMD | Belvoir Castle Miscellaneous Documents. |
| BCW | Belvoir Castle Wills. |
| <u>BIHR</u> | <u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.</u> |
| Bindoff | <u>The House of Commons 1509-1558</u> , ed. S.T. Bindoff. |
| Bod. L | Bodleian Library. |
| BL | British Library. |
| <u>CCR</u> | <u>Calendar of Close Rolls.</u> |
| <u>CPR</u> | <u>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</u> |
| <u>C. Scot. P.</u> | <u>Calendar of Scottish Papers.</u> |
| <u>CSPC</u> | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Carew.</u> |
| <u>CSPD</u> | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Domestic.</u> |
| <u>CSPM</u> | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Milan.</u> |
| <u>CSPFS</u> | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Foreign Series.</u> |
| <u>CSPS</u> | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Spanish.</u> |
| <u>CSPV</u> | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Venetian.</u> |

¹ See bibliography for complete titles and full citations.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <u>DNB</u> | <u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u> |
| Doyle | J.E. Doyle, <u>The Official Baronage of England.</u> |
| <u>F&F</u> | L. Stone, <u>Family and Fortune.</u> |
| GEC | G.E. C[okayne], <u>The Complete Peerage.</u> |
| Harl MSS | Harleian Manuscripts. |
| Hasler | P.W. Hasler, <u>The House of Commons, 1558-1603.</u> |
| IHR | The Institute of Historical Research. |
| <u>Lit. Remains</u> | <u>Literary Remains of King Edward VI, ed. J.G. Nichols.</u> |
| <u>LJ</u> | <u>Journals of the House of Lords.</u> |
| <u>LP</u> | <u>Calendar of Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII.</u> |
| Nichols | J.G. Nichols, <u>The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester.</u> |
| PRO | Public Record Office. |
| <u>RP</u> | <u>Rotuli Parliamentorum.</u> |
| <u>Rutland MSS</u> | Historical Manuscript Commission, <u>The Duke of Rutland MSS.</u> |
| Shaw | W.A. Shaw, <u>The Knights of England.</u> |
| <u>SPH</u> | <u>State Papers Henry VIII.</u> |
| <u>Tudor England</u> | J. Guy, <u>Tudor England.</u> |

FORWARD

The influence of the Manners family on the political life of Tudor England has been to a large extent ignored by historians. This is most likely due to two factors. First, access to the main collection of manuscripts relating to the Manners (still held by the family) has been restricted. Second, the national political influence of the family in the Tudor period appears rarely to have transcended that of a secondary presence and an ignorance of the Manners could be justified by the assumption that they were not the primary movers in the big events.

However these two factors no longer hinder a study of the family in the Tudor period. It is fortunate that the present duke of Rutland has generously granted entry into his muniment room in Belvoir castle (the family seat for almost five centuries) for the purpose of this study. This therefore sets aside the first hindrance. The second hindrance is no longer relevant. In recent times the focus of many historians has shifted from high Court politics to include political involvements and alliances in the provinces. Since the family was influential in various counties throughout the Tudor period a study of it looks more and more attractive. Further, the influence of the family did not stop there, since as the Belvoir Castle archives testify, they did at times have important associations with high Court politics. It can

now be seen that a study of the family during this period is not only necessary, but also long overdue.

The collection of the manuscripts, itself, at Belvoir Castle is very rich and this study makes use of a wide variety of them. These include the numerous accounts, letters (including letters and papers supplementary), wills, grants, bills, additional manuscripts, and miscellaneous documents.

However, the main sources which have been relied on are the accounts and letters. The accounts are numerous and varied throughout. These include ministers' accounts, various household accounts, receivers' accounts, valors, and brief statements of accounts. The letters are also numerous, but are especially so during times of high political or military involvement.

Late in the nineteenth century, the Historical Manuscript Commission, mainly under the guidance of H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and with the favour and approval of the duke of Rutland, accomplished a monumental task in preserving many of the Belvoir manuscripts from ruin.¹ The com-

¹ Maxwell-Lyte noted, "I came across a key bearing a label with the words 'Key of old writings over stable'. I accordingly repaired to the stables, which are at the bottom of the hill on which the Castle stands, and there, in a loft under the roof, discovered a vast mass of old papers." These had been gnawed and stained by rats but came to form the principal part of the Belvoir archives. See Historical Manuscript Commission The MSS of His Grace the Duke of Rutland Preserved at Belvoir Castle, (vol. i) 12th Report, part 4, pp. iii-viii. The editor's original notes and transcripts are not lodged in the HMC (Quality Court, Chancery Lane). The editorial

(continued...)

mission eventually were able to produce four volumes consisting of calendars or abstracts of various of the manuscripts. These documents contained what was felt to be important for the scholars of that era. Most of the letters from influential political figures, for example, are well summarized or even transcribed.

However, not a few documents that present historians would consider important have been briefly mentioned, or even ignored. This is especially true of the accounts at Belvoir Castle. The Historical Manuscript Commission was only able to include brief excerpts of what they felt were the most important or interesting items from the most important accounts.

For example, they took brief excerpts from BCA 59, which among other things gives payments made to Rutland during the Lady Jane crisis. The commission, however, did not include enough information to enable the historian fully to re-create Rutland's role during the involvement. Further, they totally ignored the numerous and bulky receivers' accounts, which, of course, not only contain detailed information about Rutland's vast estates and various of his men there, but also include his income for a given year.

At times documents are not even mentioned in the Historical Manuscript Commission Reports which one can

¹(...continued)
correspondence is located in PRO HMC 1, though little of importance may be found there.

not help but feel was an oversight. For example, BCA 50 and BCMD 1552, both containing detailed information about a band of men-at-arms entrusted to Rutland by the Crown in 1551-2 which made up part of a unique and experimental standing army, are not even mentioned in the reports.

Other documents were intentionally left out by the editors, though no apparent reasons are given. These include the numerous and important grants, wills (including one of the second earl which was never proved), and other miscellaneous items. This, combined with the numerous and equally important state papers and various legal and economic documents at the Public Record Office, in the British Library, and in other archives, makes it possible to give a fairly unbroken account of the political activities and contributions of both the first and second earls of Rutland during mid-Tudor England.² It is hoped that this thesis makes adequate attempts in that direction.

² The original spelling has been retained in all direct quotations from mss sources with the following exceptions:

- a. Consonantal "u" has been rendered as "v".
- b. modern rules of capitalization have been consistently implemented.
- c. modern punctuation has been used sparingly and only when clarification has been needed.

Chapter 1

BEGINNINGS

It was not until the end of the fifteenth century that the Manners family began to progress beyond the ranks of influential Northumberland gentry and to exert an influence beyond the local level. The family reached even greater heights in 1512 when Sir George Manners became Lord Roos and his son Thomas inherited the title the next year. But they received a much greater honour when in 1525 Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, was created earl of Rutland, just after having received full custody of a vast estate with numerous manors in various counties.

The local and even national political influence of the first Earl began naturally to grow at an accelerated rate. Owing to the favour bestowed to the family by the first two Tudor monarchs, his involvement against the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the fact that his ancestors had founded various monastic houses, he was able greatly to profit from the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Though neither he nor his son Henry ever really equalled the political influence of the greatest elites (as did a few members of the family in later centuries), yet within a few decades, and certainly by the death of the first earl in 1543, the Manners had witnessed a dramatic rise in national and local political power.

Yet there were influences before Lord Roos' promo-

tion to the earldom of Rutland in 1525 which were the catalyst for much of this growth and it will be the purpose of this chapter to chart these factors. In the process of doing so, the Manners family heritage will be more fully discussed. Also, their landed property, the political and military offices which family members held during this period, and finally the involvement of Thomas Lord Roos, future first earl of Rutland, as well as his father, Sir George, in the Court will be examined in order to reveal the family's political role. Also throughout it will become apparent that the Manners' rise in political prominence was in part facilitated by a vast network of family, friends, and servants.

The Manners of Etal Northumberland were an ancient family who had been local Northumberland notables for centuries. The family probably derived their surname from the French place name of "Mesnieres", and were most likely feudal tenants of the counts of Eu in Normandy before 1066 as well as in England after that date. Further, it appears that they resided in Sussex some time before immigrating to Northumberland by the middle of the twelfth century. Etal was in the possession of the Manners by at least the early thirteenth century and in 1341 a Robert Manners brought the town into prominence by crenelating the manor house there.¹ Etal was held as a

¹ This has been taken from: W. P. Hedley, Northumberland Families (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970) ii, (continued...)

main residence of the family until the end of the reign of Henry VII.²

However, until this time they had neither a big national presence nor did they, for the most part, hold high political offices. Numerous members of the family had held offices in the North such as sheriff, constable, and justice of the peace, assize, or gaol delivery, though some also had been MPs. Sir Robert Manners alone, father of Sir George Manners, had been sheriff of Northumberland (a lucrative post apparently up to the time of Edward VI) three times, in: 1463, 1464, and 1485.³ This local tradition continued under Henry VII though at the same time a national presence slowly began to emerge.

But more to the point, this Sir Robert Manners secured, apparently with the help and favour of Richard Neville, the earl of Warwick (the King Maker), a sound future for the family with his fortunate marriage to a

¹(...continued)

p. 243 (I thank Dr. David Crook of the PRO for bringing this reference to my attention); A History of Northumberland, xi, ed. K.H. Vickers (The Northumberland County History Committee, 1922), pp. 442-6; CCR 1231-34, p. 285; See: C.J. Bates, The Border Holds of Northumberland, i (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1891), p. 4 for a good map of Northumberland castles (including Etal) in 1415.

² Except for perhaps a short period at the end of the thirteenth century. See The Border Holds i, pp 23, 443. Remains of Etal Castle (destroyed by the Scots at the time of the Battle of Flodden) may still be seen today. Thomas, the future earl of Rutland, perhaps spent his early years there.

³ Hedley ii, pp. 243-8; Collins's Peerage of England i, augmented by Sir E. Brydges (London, 1812), p. 461.

Roos heiress.⁴ On 13 June, 1469, a licence was granted to Sir Robert to marry Eleanor Roos, "domicella" of the earl of Westmorland (who was the uncle of the King Maker). Eleanor was the daughter of Thomas ninth Lord Roos, and of Philippa daughter of Sir John Lord Tiptoft.⁵

She was also the elder sister and co-heiress of Edmund tenth Lord Roos, who never married. Further, she was the only offspring who produced a surviving heir. It was through Eleanor that the Roos lordship descended.⁶ This marriage proved to have the most far reaching effects for the Manners of any event which occurred in

⁴ F&F, p. 165. The family was usually referred to in the earlier medieval period as "de Ros" and from the fifteenth century more commonly as "Roos". However, "Ros" and "Roos" (along with other variations) were sometimes used interchangeably. Here "de Ros" is used roughly for periods before the fifteenth century while "Roos" is used from the fifteenth century onwards. Collins's Peerage of England i (1812), p. 462 notes of this Sir Richard: "In the ... 4th year of Edward IV he was in such favour with Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick ... that in consideration of his services done, and to be done, he granted him an annuity of twenty marks out of the revenues of his lordship of Barnard Castle, during his life; and the next year was constituted deputy to Richard, Duke of Gloucester (then admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine) for all the sea coasts in the bishopric of Durham, from the mouth of Tese, to that of Twede..."

⁵ F&F, p. 165; GEC xi, pp. 105-7. Note: *Ibid.*, pp. 89-108 have been followed in regard to the numbering of the various Lords Roos, and the numbering system of the DNB (see xi, pp. 941, 942, 935, & 936) has been disregarded; Testamenta Eboracensia iii Surtees Society xlv (London, 1865), p. 340. Here the earl is erroneously referred to as "John" earl of Westmorland. This surely should in fact be Ralph Neville, second earl of Westmorland.

⁶ Rev. J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, (London, 852), p. 211.

the family history for possibly the next few centuries.

Unlike the Manners, the Roos family had both a local and a relatively strong national political influence. Cockayne traced the family back to Piers de Ros, the steward of the count of Aumale, lord of Holderness. Piers de Ros married, in the early twelfth century, a co-heir of Walter Espec, lord of Helmsley. In 1299 William de Ros was created Lord Ros of Helmsley by writ. The ennobled family went on to serve the Crown in political and/or military duties in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and France. At least one member went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and another member was involved in the Crusades. A Robert de Ros witnessed the signing of the Magna Carta. Various Lords Roos had been wardens in the marches against Scotland, an office which the Manners later assumed from time to time. In 1403 William Lord Roos became treasurer of England and his wife was probably the Lady Roos who attended the coronation of Queen Catherine.⁷

However, the fortunes of the Roos family were temporarily put on hold. Thomas, the aforementioned ninth Lord Roos, was a Lancastrian and he and his son Edmund fled with Henry VI from York to Scotland in 1461

⁷ Walter Espec, himself, was also the founder of Kirkham and Rievaulx and Warden monasteries. For more information on Helmsley and the Roos connection see: A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx, and District, Helmsley & Area Group of the Yorks. Archaeological. Society, ed. J. McDonnell (York, 1963), passim. For Roos genealogical information see: GEC xi, p. 90 & passim.

during the Battle of Towton. Roos was attainted by Edward IV that year. He was later captured and executed in May 1464, after fighting in the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham. The future of the family looked bleak indeed and Edmund fled overseas.⁸

It is interesting to note in passing that Sir Robert Manners was rewarded for fighting with the Yorkists in 1461, helping to explain his connections with the King Maker. Despite the opposing political associations of the Manners and Roos families, both Sir Robert and the ninth Lord Roos were great-grandfathers of the future first earl of Rutland.

The Roos attainder was one of 140 issued by Edward IV. But, it was reversed by Henry VII at the start of his reign, and proved to be one of forty-three of Edward's attainders so reversed.⁹ However, the king was granted the profits of the property until 1492.¹⁰

Another marriage held important implications for the Manners and helped keep them in royal favour. In c.1490 George Manners married Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Thomas St. Leger. Her mother was Anne, divorced wife of Henry (Holland), second duke of Exeter, sister of Edward IV, first daughter of Richard (Plantagenet), duke

⁸ Ibid., pp. 105-6; B. Wolffe, Henry VI (London, 1981), pp. 331-2, 336; RP v, p. 477.

⁹ Tudor England, p. 8.

¹⁰ RP v, p. 477; ibid. vi, p. 310.

of York.¹¹ George Manners' bride therefore was a cousin of Henry VII's wife, Elizabeth of York. It is highly likely that a marriage to someone as closely related to royalty as was Anne, was only made possible because of royal approval -- an indication of the high amount of favour bestowed by Henry VII on the Manners.¹²

The Manners, then, were a good example of the powerful influence of strong family connections through the female lines. Without the Roos connection alone, for example, it is conceivable that the ennobling of the Manners may have at the least been greatly delayed and that they may have remained local notables in the North for the next few hundred years or more. But our increasing attention must now go to the property of the families. This will graphically indicate the economic (and help to explain the political) rise of the Manners.

The ancestral property of the Manners, as well as the St. Leger property which they inherited, was not vast in comparison to the Roos property though it certainly helped them maintain their status as local notables. Sir George's Northumberland property included the manors of or in Berington, Bolton, Lanton Township, and Mylloux. Also in Northumberland he owned (besides Etal Castle)

¹¹ About fifteen manors were mentioned in his will -- many from the Roos inheritance and still, apparently, in Lovell's custody. PRO PROB 11/17, sig 24; Rents from his Northumberland property in 1538 were £97 10s. 4d. BCA 297.

¹² This last point was made to me by Dr. R.W. Hoyle of the University of Central Lancashire.

property in Shotton, Milford Township, Crookhouse Township, and in New Etal. The per annum value of this Northumberland property came to at least £100.

The shift of emphasis of the Manners' landownership from Northumberland was made possible by Henry VII's reversal of another attainder, that of the deceased Sir Thomas St. Leger in 1485 who had been attainted by Richard III. After the reversal, the property had descended to his daughter Anne, whom Sir George married.¹³ The main St. Leger properties inherited by Anne were the Manors of Field Place and Down Place, both in Compton Surrey. Sir George and Anne chose to leave Northumberland and to set up their main residence in Surrey later in Henry VII's reign. Sir George retained his seat in Surrey throughout the reign and even a little beyond. The St. Leger property in Surrey which the Manners inherited was lesser in value than their Northumberland lands and eventually had a per annum value of £15 at the very least.¹⁴ This therefore was also not vast.

¹³ For St. Leger's biographical info. see: J.C. Wedgewood, Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509, in History of Parliament (London, 1936), pp. 736-7; RP vi, p. 273.

¹⁴ VCH Surrey iii, pp. 19-20; GEC xi, p. 108; LP I, i, no. 438; PRO C54/378, m. 15; Surrey Feet of Fines, ed. C.A.F. Meekings, Surrey Record Society xix (London, 1946), nos. 5, 38, 44. (annual rents assumed to be 1/20th of the sale value.) The initial inheritance was greater, but in 1498 Sir George was bound in £500 to give to George and Anne St. Leger and their heirs £50 worth of the St. Leger property CCR 1485-1500, no. 1021).

Etal did not remain a main residence for the family much into the sixteenth century. Sir George Manners'

(continued...)

By 1523 the lands of Thomas Manners, Lord Roos were assessed for the subsidy at £151. Helen Miller has well argued that these assessments though not reliable in absolute terms, are a fairly reliable guide, in relative terms, when comparing incomes between members of the nobility. His income was actually about a fifth of that of the average assessed income of the peerage that year.¹⁵ But, the situation was different for the Roos estates and once Roos gained full custody of these lands his income would drastically rise.

Besides having a relatively large amount of political importance, the Roos family held extensive property which eventually descended to the Manners and served to heighten the national profile of the Manners even during

¹⁴(...continued)
father, Sir Robert, conveyed his manor of Etal to trustees in 1498, perhaps in order to entail it. See: A History of Northumberland xi, ed. K.H. Vickers, p. 451. By 1509, one John Collingwood was the inhabitant. See also: The Border Holds i, p. 23. Note: Raine, p. 208, incorrectly wrote that Sir Robert Manners, father of George Manners had, in the mid to late fifteenth century, after his marriage, left a ruined Etal for the magnificent home of the Lords Roos and future earls of Rutland, Belvoir Castle. In fact, Belvoir Castle was after the attainder of Thomas Lord Roos, in 1461, granted to a Lord Hastings who destroyed it and carted off much of its building materials and it was not completely rebuilt until the mid sixteenth century. Also, Etal was not destroyed until the time of the battle of Flodden; PRO E36/130, fo. 199 reveals that during Christmas 1521 Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, was in the king's Household as a cup-bearer and listed as being from Surrey. This is mentioned in: H. Miller, Henry VIII and the English Nobility (Oxford, 1986), p. 83.

¹⁵ H. Miller, "Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century", in BIHR, xxviii (London, 1955), pp. 15-34; PRO E179/69/12.

the reign of Henry VII. By the end of the fifteenth century the Roos properties were yielding well over £1,300 per annum and included numerous manors and other lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire as well as in Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, London, Kent, Sussex, and Worcestershire. The vast Yorkshire estates alone realized nearly £500 per annum. In Lincolnshire the figure was over £250. The Nottinghamshire estates totalled nearly £75 per annum while in Leicestershire the figure was nearer to £100 per annum. This distribution of land mainly in both the north-east Midlands and in the North influenced the Mannors throughout the Tudor period, giving them a political and military prominence in both areas and heightening their national profile.¹⁶

The Mannors continued to be involved in local offices as may be expected. Sir Robert Mannors was on the commission of peace for Northumberland in 1485. But Sir George became involved further south. In 1505 he was on the Oyer and Terminer commission in Sussex. He performed official duties in Surrey in 1505 and 1506 by being first on a commission to survey sea walls and embankments and then on a commission to enquire into the destruction of the kings woods and water, escaping of

¹⁶ BCA (Roos) no. 973; The exact figure of income from lands for the period of Michaelmas 1497 - Michaelmas 1498 was £1,339 19s. 11½d. This excludes £117 3d. in arrearages.

prisoners, and extortions in that same county.¹⁷ On 14 November 1509 Sir George Manners was sheriff for Surrey and Sussex as has been noted earlier. In March 1512 he was on the commission of the peace for Surrey.¹⁸

On 7 July 1519 Sir Thomas Lovell and Thomas, the new Lord Roos, were jointly granted the office of constable of Nottingham Castle and keeper of Sherwood Forest as well as of various parks in Nottinghamshire. They were also to be stewards of the manors of Mansfield, Bolsemer, and Horseley. This is interesting in that it shows us that Sir Thomas, treasurer of the king's Household, was able to help Lord Roos to obtain an office which would become practically hereditary in the Manners family.¹⁹ Lovell, alone, had earlier been granted the office in 1489.²⁰ It is also important because it indicates a growing association with Nottinghamshire. In less than two and one-half decades, Nottinghamshire would become the main power base of the Manners. By this time also, the family greatly increased its involvement in military and political offices.

However, though the family had traditionally been local Northumberland notables, Sir George was the first seriously to begin to involve the family in higher political and military offices as well. It was known,

¹⁷ CPR Henry VII i, appendix, p. 495; ibid. ii, pp. 422, 456, 489.

¹⁸ LP I, i, gr. 257(49); ibid., gr. 1221(6).

¹⁹ LP III, i, gr. 362.

²⁰ Wedgwood, p. 556.

after all, that he would probably be the next Lord Roos well before he actually received the title. This he began under Henry VII though the next Tudor monarch made even greater use of his abilities.

During the Cornish rebellions the English forces were distracted from the North and the Scots took advantage of this by invading England in 1497. The English forces launched a counter invasion under the command of the earl of Surrey. Sir George was one of the gentry in the North to accompany the earl and was there in Scotland knighted by Surrey for his bravery.²¹ The Mannors were certainly no strangers to the borders and they became more involved in leadership positions there during the Tudor period.

In 1510 he was actually nominated by Lord Herbert for a vacant stall in the chapter of the Garter but he was not elected. In May 1512 he was one of those commissioned by Henry VIII to view the soldiers, under Thomas, marquis of Dorset, who were about to go to France.²²

The next year George Lord Roos was a captain in the king's middle ward in the French campaign in 1513 in which Charles Brandon was appointed high marshal of the army. Roos took with him slightly over 100 men in his retinue.²³ This was really the first major overseas

²¹ Shaw ii, p. 31.

²² GEC xi, p. 107.

²³ LP I, ii, no. 2053(2-3,5-6); ibid. (pt) i, gr. 1804(15); S.J. Gunn, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c.

(continued...)

military office for the Manners for some time and it helped to establish them as Tudor warlords. What is interesting about this military office is that it gives a picture of a Tudor war-lord who even at this early date was able to draw numerous men from various counties. The Manners could not have accomplished this half a century earlier.

George Lord Roos became ill during the French campaign and died soon after, on 27 October 1513.²³ However, most of his retinue landed with others of the English force in Dover the next day. His retinue was issued conduct money, the amount of which was based in part on the distance from Dover to their residences. One Thomas Rogers received the money for Lord Roos. Included in the Roos conduct money were funds to conduct one captain from Dover to Nottingham, one petty captain to Godalming in Surrey, nine demi-lances to Etal, forty footmen to Helmsley, and the remaining twenty-three men

²³(...continued)
1484-1545 (Oxford, 1988), p. 16; PRO E101/56(25), m. 31 (LP I, ii, no. 2480(31)).

²⁴Nichols II, i, pp. 41-2. Nichols gives here a transcription of the inscription of his funeral monument in St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. Note that various references confuse the date of his death. The fact that Sir Thomas St. Leger had earlier alienated the Manor of Ham in Surrey to the Dean and Canons of the free chapel of St. George's for the support of a chantry explains why Lord Roos came to be buried there. See VCH Surrey iii, p. 409. Some sources incorrectly claim that there is a monument to the first earl of Rutland there. See for example Bod. L. Ashmolean MS 1131.181. There is apparently one there both for Sir George and Edward, third earl of Rutland.

also to Godalming. Since these men were returning to their houses, this indicates that the Manners had strong connections in Surrey, Etal, and Helmsley, and perhaps a growing, though as yet minor, connection in Nottingham.²⁵

Early in 1522, Henry VIII strengthened his northern forces in order to mount a Scottish offensive. This was partially in response to the second sojourn there of John Stuart, duke of Albany, whose presence in Scotland angered Henry VIII. In addition, Henry and the Emperor Charles V planned a mid-April meeting where they would affirm a joint invasion of France. As it was, they met on 6 June. However, before this invasion, Henry wanted an early victory over the Scots so that he would not have to worry about them later. In early April Henry sent out two fleets of ships -- one to protect the south-east English coast from a possible French offensive and to stop French trade and the other fleet to launch an offensive against Scotland's east coast. The second fleet entered the Firth of Forth and burned several Scottish ships.²⁶

On 30 April 1522, at the age of probably just over thirty years²⁷, Lord Roos was appointed to his first

²⁵ PRO E101/56(25), m. 31 (LP I, ii, no. 2480(31)). Note: GEC xi, p. 252 maintains that Thomas Lord Roos was also involved in the French expedition of 1513. But as of yet no primary evidence can be found to support this.

²⁶ R.G. Eaves, Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy 1513-1524 (New York, 1971), pp. 102-14, 116.

²⁷ Estimated from the date of his summons to Parliament, i.e. 1512, noted below.

major military office: warden of the East and Middle Marches towards Scotland. He joined Thomas Lord Dacre, who remained warden of the West Marches, in order to help with the observation and patrolling of the border area. Earlier, on 17 April, Dacre had already raided and burned the town of Gaitshaw in Scotland.²⁸

On 17 June the Bishop of Carlisle wrote to Wolsey that the Lord Roos, Sir William Paston, Sir Ralph Ellerker, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir William Evers, and Arthur Darcy with a retinue of at least 500 men left Newcastle that night and headed for Alnwick where they planned to meet the Lord Dacre. There Dacre was to take their musters and pay them their next month's wages. The bishop of Carlisle further informed Wolsey that:

We have tydynges that the duke of Albany shold sett forward into England or to the borders... What to doo we kan not know, he may be noo meane convoy...²⁹

Additional English troops were sent to the borders in July. Dacre wrote to Wolsey of Roos' abilities on 3 July:

I trust my lord wardain shall do the king good service. I like hym right wele for he lakes nothing but experience of the countrie which will com to hym dayly.³⁰

Also during this time George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury (Thomas Lord Roos' future father-in-law) was appointed

²⁸ PRO C82/517 (LP III, ii, gr. 2213(iv, v)); Eaves, pp. 114-5.

²⁹ BL Cotton MS Caligula B.I., [old fo. 36] fos 39-40 (LP III, ii, no. 2328).

³⁰ PRO SP49/1, fo. 139.

the king's lieutenant general in the North.

However, Dacre's expectations of what Roos could achieve were not fulfilled. On 7 October Dacre again wrote to Wolsey and warned him of imminent danger of invasion by the Scots. He further indicated that upon his last meeting with Henry VIII it was determined to discharge the garrisons by the end of September. He wrote that he had discharged all the garrisons except a hundred men, with a knight, and a petty-captain to remain with Roos. He further wrote of Roos, "I assure your grace, my said lord wardain is as diligent ande towardly mynded to serve the kinges highnes as any living man can be...", though Dacre wrote further that Roos wanted to be relieved of his office. Dacre continued that, as he mentioned to Wolsey earlier, Roos was not being obeyed by the northern men under his command:

For when he shuld have gone forwardes in this last journey, to have resisted the duke of Albany he was not served with the gentilmen of this countrie, as he shuld have bene, and according as thye ar bound to doo.³¹

However, Roos communicated to Shrewsbury Albany's new position as revealed by a letter from Shrewsbury to the king on 8 September 1522, to the king:

I had certainie knowlege from the lorde Roose wardeyn of your Est and Myddal Marches that the duke of Albany maketh directly to the West Marches, and that upon Sondag at night he lodged at Dumfree's xxiiij myles from Carlyle wiche is not able to defende as is saide but with power of men.

³¹ BL Cotton MS Caligula B.I., fo. 23.

Shrewsbury then wrote to Dacre to get ready.³² With Albany's forces near Carlisle, on the English border, Shrewsbury sent 20,000 men to Dacre.

On 12 September Surrey wrote to Wolsey:

the Frenche men make greate boste that the
[duke of] Albany is or nowe entred fer within
England, and moche [declare ?] also here that
my Lorde Rose is over throwen by the s[ame] God
send us bettir tydings.

However, the truth was different. On 11 September, a day earlier, a truce was concluded between the two sides. Fear of a joint Scottish and French invasion was therefore greatly diminished for the short term, though Lord Roos' role was not yet over.³³

On 14 October Dacre wrote to Albany that they should meet together to discuss grievances which had arisen since the truce. He said that Albany should bring his wardens of the East and Middle Marches against England with him to Coldstream and that he, Dacre, would bring Lord Roos, or his deputy, and meet him there.³⁴ Then on 20 October Dacre wrote to Wolsey that Albany wanted three more months' peace and that Dacre thought that they should wait even longer since the weather and conditions would make it difficult for the English forces especially:

remembring the untowardnes of the gentylmen of

³² Ibid. B. III. [old fo. 155], fo. 156 (LP III, ii, no. 2523).

³³ BL Cotton MS Caligula D.VIII [old fo. 269], fo. 274 (LP III, ii, no. 2540). Eaves, pp. 119-21.

³⁴ PRO SP49/1, fos 288-9 (LP III, ii, no 2612).

this said countrey who thinketh to have wagies
for defending of them selves. Lyke as my Lord
Roos, who is now commyn up, can declare at
lienth.³⁵

Roos returned to Court in London on 24 October.

Albany returned to France by the end of the same month.

Percy, the earl of Northumberland's son, was to take
Rutland's place.³⁶ However, by 31 October, Dacre
complained to Wolsey that the only one in charge of the
East and Middle Marches was a lieutenant deputed by Lord
Roos and a retinue of only twenty men. Dacre suggested
either quickly to return Roos or to send Percy.³⁷ Lord
Roos did not return until years later. In the future,
the Manners were called to the borders, as was Lord Roos
at this time, during specific times of heightened
conflict, and usually for short periods of time.

Lord Roos had appointed as his captain Sir Marmaduke
Constable. This initiated, or at least strengthened, the
future Manners and Constable relationship in which vari-
ous of the family served or married into the Manners
family.

It is interesting that fifty-six of Roos' household
servants were given conduct money to travel from the

³⁵ BL Cotton MS Caligula B.I [old fo. 147], fos 160-1
(calendared in LP III, ii, no. 2621).

³⁶ PRO SP1/26, p. 123 (LP III, ii, no. 2636).

³⁷ BL Cotton MS Caligula B. II. [old fo. 327], fos
343-4 (Calendared in LP III, ii, no. 2645 -- note that
the calendar is misleading in asserting that Roos was
only a lieutenant).

borders to London for seven days ending 26 October 1522.³⁸ This indicates a large household at this early date. In addition to these Lord Roos was able to recruit at least twelve men from Sherwood Forest and three from Nottingham. This confirms that Roos was increasing his influence in Nottinghamshire.

A picture can now be drawn regarding the significance of the various major political and military offices which the Mannors held during this period. These political offices basically show, among other hints, that even in the early sixteenth century, the Mannors were beginning to develop new local power-bases in England, while at the same time retaining a presence in the North; albeit, the latter was with reluctance.

It was during this period, the early sixteenth century, that the Mannors became increasingly involved in Court politics, which would give the future first earl of Rutland a firm foundation on which to build. Sir Thomas Lovell was his greatest contact at Court and the Mannors' political fortunes rose even higher with this close association. In 1492 the custody of Edmund Lord Roos, who had now returned from France, was given to Sir Thomas, his brother-in-law, because Edmund was deemed "not of sufficient discrecion to guyde himself and his lyvelode, nor able to serve his highnes after his

³⁸ PRO E36/254, pp. 231-41 (Briefly calendared in LP, III, ii, no. 2613).

duetie...".³⁹

Lovell had custody of the childless Edmund throughout the reign of Henry VII until Edmund's death at Elsing's manor in Enfield, Middlesex, on 23 October 1508 and the equally childless Sir Thomas also held custody of the property until his own death in 1524. But at the death of Edmund, Sir George became co-heir. Edmund's sister died soon afterwards and in 1512 Sir George was created twelfth Lord Roos.⁴⁰ However, long before that, and in fact probably throughout much of Henry VII's reign, it was obvious that Sir George would eventually be ennobled and become heir to a fortune now still in Lovell's hands.

But the Lovell connection proved to be of mutual benefit both to Lovell and to the Manners. Lovell received the custody of some lucrative properties and the Manners were able to benefit from close connections with an extremely prominent member of the Court as was seen, for example, in the previously mentioned offices of constable of Nottingham Castle and keeper of Sherwood forest.

Lovell was a giant at Court and his political life was largely a creation of Henry VII. Indeed in 1497 the Milanese ambassador described Sir Thomas along with Lord Daubeney and Sir Reginald Bray as the most powerful men

³⁹ *Ibid.* vi, pp. 452-3.

⁴⁰ GEC xi, pp. 106-7; Wedgwood, p. 555; *LP* I, i, gr. 289(32).

in England.⁴¹ He was early on a strong supporter of the future king and therefore became one of the hundred men who were attainted by Richard III. This situation also did not last long. Lovell's attainder was one of ninety-nine of Richard's attainders which Henry VII reversed.

He was further rewarded for his earlier loyalties. In 1485-6 he was speaker of the House of Commons. From 1485 to the battle of Stoke in 1487 he was squire of the body, after which he became knight of the body until the end of the reign. In 1485 he was created chancellor of the Exchequer for life, an office which he held until 1516. He was also a member of the Council during the same time and served as its president from 1502-9. Further, from 1486 to the end of the reign he was treasurer of the Chamber and then of the Household. The granting to him of the custody of the Roos property was an even further reward to Lovell. He also remained in favour with Henry VIII and held other offices during his reign despite the fact that he had been a colleague to Empson and Dudley.⁴²

There were other closer Manners and Lovell ties which in the end helped to heighten the Manners' political influence throughout the reign of Henry VII. The fact that Sir Thomas Lovell had earlier married

⁴¹ CSPM i, p. 335.

⁴² Wedgewood, pp. 555-6; Tudor England, p. 8.

Isabel, sister to Edmund and Eleanor Roos, made him an uncle to Sir George Manners. A few years after Henry VII's reign, Sir George's son, Thomas Manners, future Lord Roos and first earl of Rutland, even wedded Elizabeth Lovell a niece of Sir Thomas.⁴³ Lovell's accounts, some of which are still at Belvoir Castle, also indicate a degree both of integration of households as well as of continuity. Further, Lovell made good use of the Roos property. For example, he made Elsings Manor, in Enfield, Middlesex, (part of the Roos property) his main residence and invested much in its upkeep and repair.⁴⁴ The aforementioned Philippa, Lady Roos (grandmother to Sir George) lived at Elsings at least until October 1488 at which time her room was fitted with iron works and new locks.⁴⁵

His first involvement in national (or in this case international) affairs happened towards the end of 1495. At this time he was sent by the lords and commons of Durham to join a large delegation in Parliament to agree to the treaty of Étapes.⁴⁶ In June 1500 he attended Henry VII at his meeting with Archduke Philip, of Burgundy, in St. Peter's church outside the walls of Calais, at which time a proposed Anglo-Burgundian

⁴³ GEC xi, pp. 107, 254; PRO PROB 11/17, sig 24.

⁴⁴ See for examples: BCA (Roos) 965, BCA 275, BCA 276; Gunn, p. 65. See also BL Add MS 12462.

⁴⁵ BCA (Roos) 965.

⁴⁶ Foedera, Conventiones, Literae..., ed. T. Rymer, V, iv, 3rd edn (the Hague, 1741), p. 135. Note that Nichols misdated this: Nichols II, i, p. 41.

alliance was considered. Then in November of the next year he met Catherine of Aragon in St. George's Field near London. This, of course, was at the time of her arrival into England and just before her marriage to Arthur, prince of Wales.⁴⁷ In 1509 he was one of the knights who attended Henry VII's funeral.⁴⁸

The next Tudor monarch placed the Manners in even higher favour at Court and this was evident from the beginning of his reign. Since the seventh year of Henry VII's reign Lovell had paid the king 700 marks in return for the custody of the Roos lands. However, on 10 December 1509, the first year of the reign of Henry VIII Sir George Manners, who was referred to as knight of the body, was granted an annuity of 700 marks to be paid by Sir Thomas Lovell for the term of Lovell's life.⁴⁹ This was certainly a move by Henry VIII to draw the Manners further into the Tudor power structure.

Court contacts increased. George Lord Roos was granted in November 1512 a warrant for his summons to Parliament.⁵⁰ It is apparent that one of Rutland's brothers (probably Richard) attended the marriage of Princess Mary of France in 1514. Thomas Lord Roos, along

⁴⁷ J.D. Mackie, The Early Tudors, 1485-1558, (Oxford, 1952), p. 182; M.V.C. Alexander, The First of the Tudors, (London, 1981), p. 176; Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII i, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1861), p. 410; ibid. ii (1863), p. 88. GEC xi, p. 107.

⁴⁸ LP I, i, no. 20.

⁴⁹ LP I, i gr. 289 (32).

⁵⁰ LP I, i, gr. 1495(45).

with three others, was on this occasion one of the servants of Garter Principal King of Arms. Then, various of the sons of the late George Lord Roos were among the "enfants d'honneur" who were retained in France, along with various English ladies and gentlemen, by King Louis XII. They were to serve the French queen, Mary Tudor, who, as we have mentioned, later married the duke of Suffolk. It appears that Thomas and his brothers were accorded a like honour in September 1518 on an embassy to France.⁵¹

During this time it is apparent that Thomas Lord Roos kept close contact with Henry VIII specifically. On Wednesday, 9 January 1519, Henry VIII, Lord Roos, and Henry Courtenay, earl of Devon, with others probably in participation and attendance, played tennis at Greenwich. Roos stayed in Greenwich at least three days.⁵²

In keeping with his association with Henry VIII, he was appointed with others on 26 March 1520 to accompany Henry VIII when he met with Francis I. He also was appointed to attend upon Henry VIII in the Field of the Cloth of Gold the same year, though at this time he was not yet in the royal Household. In addition, Lord Roos was appointed to attend Henry VIII on 10 July during

⁵¹ LP I, ii, no. 3348(3), p. 1409 (note that the index to this volume incorrectly mentions that Henry, son of Thomas Lord Roos, was at the marriage of the French Queen); BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.XI, no. 155 (The sons of Lord Roos referred to must have been the sons of the late Lord Roos, see also LP I, ii, nos 3357, 4409).

⁵² PRO E36/218, fo. 33. He remained in contact with the earl of Devon, see fos 33-4 (LP III, i, no. 152).

Henry's meeting with Charles V at Gravelines.⁵³

Roos also tacitly backed Henry VIII with his involvement in the duke of Buckingham's trial. He was on a panel of peers at the trial, the lord high steward for the trial being Thomas duke of Norfolk. Roos voted with the rest of the peers that Buckingham was guilty of treason.⁵⁴

Perhaps as a reward for his faithfulness (a theme which recurred numerous times in the future) Roos was appointed one of the king's cupbearers by 25 December 1521. Oliver Manners, one of his brothers, was appointed as one of the king's sewers by this same date. This gave them access not only to the dining chamber, but also to the Privy Chamber. Roos developed close friendships among members of the Household at this time. The best example of this can be found in Sir Arthur Plantaganet (future Lord Lisle), a carver, who remained a close friend of Lord Roos.⁵⁵

Again Roos can be seen in close contact with Henry VIII. He was one of the participants on 2 March 1522 in the jousts in which the king participated. The earl of Devonshire and Roos both wore a bard, and their horses each bore coats, "with clothe of gold whyght wellwet with

⁵³ PRO SP1/19, fos 235-6 (LP III, i, nos 702(3), 906).

⁵⁴ LP III, i, no. 1284(ix), p. 493 (for this and depositions see PRO Harl MS 283, fo. 72).

⁵⁵ BL Add MS 21116, fo. 1. Sir Arthur (an illegitimate son of Edward IV) was related to Lord Roos by marriage.

dyverse devyssys". Henry's bard and his horses base coat contained a design of "elles" and "hartes".⁵⁶

His close connections with Henry VIII certainly help to reveal at least one reason why he went to the borders for it was only a little over a month later that Thomas Lord Roos was appointed as warden. However, it was not until June that he actually took up official duties. On 26 May, Roos was appointed with other noblemen to meet Charles V at Dover. It is further interesting that after Roos left the North in October 1522, he returned immediately to the Court and probably conversed with Wolsey, among others.⁵⁷

In keeping with his attendance at Court functions Roos was present at the ceremony for Sir Henry Marney who was created Baron Marney at the king's palace at Richmond. Sir Henry was led by Lords Roos and Fitzwater while Lord Mountjoy bore his robe.⁵⁸

On 15 April 1523 Roos became in Parliament a trier of petitions from Gascony and parts beyond the sea. This office was usually reserved to lesser members of the nobility as contrasted with the office of triers of petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland which was usually held by members of the higher ranks of

⁵⁶ PRO SP1/29, pp. 219, 223 (LP III, ii, pp. 1557-8).

⁵⁷ LP III, ii, no. 2288; BL Cotton MS Caligula B.I [old fo. 147] fos 160-1 (LP III, ii, no. 2621); PRO SP1/26, p. 123 (LP III, ii, no. 2636).

⁵⁸ BL Add MS 6113, fo. 127 (LP III, ii, app. 41).

the nobility.⁵⁹ Thomas Manners was still a baron at this time and thus by definition in the lower ranks of the nobility. Yet, the Parliament Roll of 1523 actually lists Roos as the senior baron in rank.⁶⁰ This is not surprising given his ancient Roos heritage and his close association with Edward IV.

As can now be seen, the foundations had been laid for a rise in power and influence of Thomas Manners, Lord Roos. The rise of the Manners family in early Tudor England was helped greatly by Henry VII's reversal of the attainders made by Edward IV and Richard III of the St. Leger, Roos, and Lovell families. However, these were only three out of 397 dynastic attainders made during the civil wars. Henry VII himself reversed 142 attainders issued by the two above mentioned monarchs alone.⁶¹ The Manners, therefore, directly or indirectly benefited from three of a relatively large group of dynasties brought back to life by the first of the Tudor monarchs. Further, by the time Roos was created earl of Rutland, the family had enjoyed good connections for about three decades which included not only participation at Court

⁵⁹ LP III, ii, no. 1956. This last point is raised in Henry VIII and the English Nobility, p. 122.

⁶⁰ Ibid.; College of Arms, Garter Roll, Muniment Room 6/41. This also gives his coat of arms in colour. Note also the list written on the back of the roll which gives a shorter and variant order, placing Lord Roos second after the Lord Spencer. See Miller's comment on this entry, p. 18; also, J.E. Powell & K. Wallis, The House of Lords in the Middle Ages (London, 1968), p. 561.

⁶¹ Tudor England, pp. 7-8.

and close association with Henry VIII but also close friendships with magnates such as Sir Thomas Lovell and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. In addition, George Manners, Lord Roos had moved his family out of Northumberland and the family began to develop other power bases, including Nottinghamshire, in the following years. This was a trend which began under George Lord Roos, but was more fully developed under Thomas Lord Roos. Finally, the Manners became involved in national military and political offices which not only developed the family into effective servants of the Crown, but also helped them to join a group of Tudor warlords.

Chapter 2

THE YOUNG EARL, 1525-36

On Corpus Christ day, 16 June, 1525, a little over a year after the death of Sir Thomas Lovell, Lord Roos was created first earl of Rutland (of the third creation). The title of Rutland itself was significant since it had earlier been granted to men with strong royal connections. The earl of the first creation was Edward, first son and heir apparent of Edmund, duke of York who was the fifth son of Edward III. He was created earl in 1390 and the earldom became extinct after the death of his father in 1402, according to the terms of the charter of creation. Edmund Plantagenet, the unmarried second surviving son of Richard duke of York and younger brother of Edward IV, was created (or acknowledged) earl of Rutland sometime in the mid-fifteenth century. The earldom became extinct for the second time in 1460 after he was killed by Lord Clifford. It is not surprising then that Lord Roos should have been given this earldom since through his mother he could claim close family ties both with Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, and with Edward IV.¹ That this was certainly a source of great pride for Rutland can be illustrated by the fact that when John Leland visited Belvoir Castle sometime in the late 1530s or early 1540s, Rutland specifically emphasized to him

¹ See GEC xi, pp. 252-3.

his mother's lineage.² During the ceremony itself, Roos was led by the earls of Arundel and Oxford and his sword was born by the earl of Westmorland, whose son, Henry, the future fifth earl, later married Lady Anne Manners, eldest daughter of the new earl.³

As has been mentioned, Roos was the senior baron and the two barons beneath him were also elevated. These were: Henry Lord Clifford who became earl of Cumberland and Robert Radcliffe, Lord FitzWalter, who was created a viscount. They were also close friends of the king.⁴

However, the event was further significant because of the other magnates who were elevated, most were not only close friends of the king but were also near relatives. Henry VIII's illegitimate son, Lord Henry Fitzroy, was elevated to earl of Nottingham and duke of Richmond and Somerset. Also, the king's nephew, the two year old Henry Brandon, son of the duke of Suffolk, was created earl of Lincoln. The king's cousin, Henry Courtenay, earl of Devon, became marquis of Exeter. Other magnates were involved as well, including Sir John Arundel who became a baron and Sir Thomas Boleyn who was

² The Itinerary of John Leland ix, ed. L.T. Smith (London, 1909), pp. 88 & 124.

³ Bod. L. Ashmolean MS 857.279; BL ADD MS 6113, fo. 62 (LP IV, i, no. 1431(8)); PRO E36/224; DNB xiv, p. 278. As was the custom, the robe of estate along with the sword, cape, and circlet were put on him after the reading of the patent. The robe and cape were made of crimson velvet. See also Bod. L. Rawlinson MS B.118, fo. 33.

⁴ BL Add MS 6113, fo. 62; Henry VIII and the English Nobility, pp. 20-2.

elevated to Viscount Rochford.⁵ The ceremony was then an attempt by Henry VIII to elevate some of his close relatives and friends. Lord Roos was ripe for promotion since he was a friend and a distant relative of the king, the highest ranking baron, and had recently obtained livery of his ancestral lands. Further, Henry VIII was elevating Roos in order to make him a more respected and effective political or military leader in the future.⁶

However, as it turned out, the next decade or so in the new earl's life was relatively uneventful. He was not during this time, for example, involved in any major military offices and he was not prominently involved in central government. However, the new earl was able to strengthen ties at the Court as well as in the Midlands, bolstered in part by his newly acquired lands. At the same time Rutland was drawn into Henry VIII's new religious policy. However, it is to his political career which we must first turn.

Rutland slowly became more involved in central politics at this time though he rarely became involved in the more flamboyant events. It took a decade of close contact at Court and involvement later in suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace to begin to gain a more prominent

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ R.W. Hoyle, in "The First Earl of Cumberland: A Reputation Reassessed", as in Northern History (Leeds, 1986) xxii, pp. 91-2, mentioned that Rutland's elevation may have resulted from a desire by Henry VIII to use him again in the borders.

role in central politics. This was perhaps in part due to the personality of the earl of Rutland. Rutland was able early on to render unostentatious and loyal service to the Crown. This helped him and his son to weather the turbulent decades of mid-Tudor high politics.

Though Rutland's high political and military involvement was relatively minimal, the time and effort he did put into Court affairs proved fruitful later. He had close access to the king and he was present at various ceremonial occasions. Other information including New Year's gifts indicate that he was in favour at Court.

Rutland retained his royal Household connections. He appeared in the Household in January 1526, though in what capacity, one cannot yet be certain.⁷ The servants of both Lord and Lady Rutland received payments from the treasurer of the Chamber's accounts in 1528 indicating that they were both still active in the Household.⁸ Further, he was a member of the Privy Council at least by 1529.⁹ He was now, perhaps for the first time, officially a member of the inner Court elites and his and his associations with the Court would therefore naturally strengthen. For example, as a member of the Household, Rutland attended the king on his trip to Calais in order to meet the French King in October 1532. As an earl he

⁷ PRO SP1/37, fo. 70 (LP IV, i, no. 1939(6)).

⁸ PRO E101/420/11, fo. 1 (LP v, no. 685A, p.307).

⁹ BL Lansdowne 160 fo. 310 (see Henry VIII and the English Nobility, p. 105 for information about this document).

was allowed to bring twenty-four of his servants in his retinue.¹⁰

Rutland received and gave various New Year's gifts and other presents as was normal for noblemen in favour at Court. On 24 December 1526 he received from the Crown a gilt cup for the christening of his son Henry, at Enfield.¹¹ It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that he named the future second earl of Rutland after the king. Rutland received silver tableware from the Crown on New Years 1532 and at the same time Rutland gave the king a white silver purse worth nearly £7. In the following year Rutland received a New Year's gift of coronals from the king.¹²

The Manners were involved in various ceremonial occasions or formal duties in association with high ranking members of the nobility. Rutland and various others including the earl of Oxford, were in attendance at the creation of Lord Pierce Butler as earl of Ossory on 23 February 1528, in which time he bore the sword. Elizabeth, Lady Rutland, attended the creation of Anne Boleyn as marchioness of Pembroke on 1 September 1532. She was led by Lady Rutland and Dorothy, countess of Sussex. Rutland (or the earl of Essex if he was absent) was appointed as a carver to attend on the new queen and

¹⁰ HMC, The MSS of the Marquis of Bath, Preserved at Longleat, Wilts.... iv, Seymour Papers, 1532-1686 i, ed. M. Blatcher (London, 1895), p. 1.

¹¹ LP IV, iii, no. 6748.

¹² LP v, no. 686, pp. 327-8; Ibid., vi, no. 32.

the bishop sitting at the queen's board end at her coronation banquet in June of the next year. Rutland was also one of the lords who accompanied the Queen on her barge for her return voyage from Greenwich to the Tower of London, a spectacle apparently so great that one eye-witness commented "he that had not seen ytt wold not beleeeve ytt."¹³

Another ceremonial occasion he attended was the witnessing of the draft of a patent granting to Wolsey, and his successors in the archbishopric of York, divers liberties.¹⁴ Further, Rutland was in attendance well over half of the days on which Parliament met in 1534 (the only session of this time for which attendance information remains). The records do not show his playing a prominent role on this occasion, except that an act was introduced regarding an agreement between the earl and the city of York concerning a fee farm.¹⁵ This leads us not only into Rutland's fee farm dispute specifically, but also to Rutland's influence in the counties generally.

Controversies concerning Rutland and the fee farms of Lincoln and York began during these years and they indicate his influence, or lack thereof, in those cities.

¹³ BL Harl MS 41, fos 2-3 (LP vi, no. 601).

¹⁴ CSPC, no. 28; BL Add MS 6113, fo. 70 (LP v, no. 1274); BL Add MS 21116, fo. 50 (LP vi, no. 562(ii)); LP IV, ii, no. 2740; BL Harl MS 41, fos 2-3 (LP vi, no. 601).

¹⁵ LJ i, pp. 58-82.

This was brought about mainly through Rutland's acquisition of the Roos lands.

Edward II took the castle of Wark on Tweed from William de Ros of Helmsley and in return reimbursed him out of the farms of York and Lincoln (apparently set at 400 marks originally). By the time Lovell had custody of the property the nominal sum of £100 was owed by each though Lovell only collected 20 marks from each city. Four years before Lovell's death the common Council of Lincoln approached Lovell to have him persuade Thomas, then Lord Roos, to be lenient on them when he came into possession of his ancestral property. After Lovell's death, the recorder of the city was directed to approach Roos and remind him of Lovell's leniency towards them in the past.¹⁶

Lincoln also sent men to London who lobbied certain magnates and who were involved in a number of suits at law. On 26 March 1526 it was agreed to give Rutland (whom they usually, but not always referred to as Lord Roos) a grant of two hundred tuns of stone from the city of Lincoln "to helpp hys bankes off the watur at Boston flow". But their worst fears were met and Rutland demanded full payment. However, they firmly resolved only to pay the 20 marks.¹⁷

¹⁶ F.W.F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 243, 285-6. See also references in footnote below.

¹⁷ G.A.J. Hodgett, Tudor Lincoln, in History of Lincolnshire, ed. J. Thirsk (Lincoln, 1975), p.123-4, is (continued...)

On 4 April 1530 the mayor of Lincoln received a letter from Rutland requesting the right to nominate a new recorder for the city. It was agreed by the city Council that "answer shalbe respitt unto a nother tyme". Though Thomas Moigne was elected as the new recorder (whose duties in part included negotiating with the earl) about two years later, it is not known how much of an influence Rutland actually had on his election.¹⁸ Needless to say, the Council's attitude to Rutland's request appeared to be quite cool.

What is interesting about the Lincoln fee farm dispute was the persistent manner in which both parties pursued their cause. Rutland himself entered suits in the Exchequer and in Chancery. He also sent delegations which met with the mayor and alderman. For example, in September 1534 Rutland had his servant Anthony Missendon (who in turn used the services of his own servant) deal with the city Council for payment of the fee farm. The next year Missendon obtained an appointment as feodary and surveyor of the Lincolnshire lands of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, and if Rutland was instrumental in getting him this appointment then one can

¹⁷(...continued)

incorrect when he wrote that he was always referred to as Lord Roos; Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/1 fo. 187 (excerpts from this and Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/2 may be found in HMC, The MSS of Lincoln, Bury St. Edmund's and Great Grimsby Corporations..., 14th Rept, Appendix pt. viii (London, 1895), pp. 31 & passim.).

¹⁸ Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/1 f.216; see Bindoff ii, p. 610; Hodgett, p.124.

assume that it may have been partly in reward for his services at this time. In a Chancery suit, Rutland even went so far as to claim from Lincoln £213. 6s. 8d. per annum.¹⁹

The Council of Lincoln were just as untractable. For example, following upon the above contact by Missendon (and with Missendon's approval) the mayor along with various members of the Council of Lincoln were to meet Sir William Ascough and ride to Rutland's house (probably Belvoir) in order to negotiate with him.²⁰ Also, the Council of Lincoln defended their interests rigorously at law and adamantly refused to pay above 20 marks per annum and in fact petitioned the king for total release from the fee farm.²¹

It is not surprising that this dispute carried on for decades. This was due in part to the growing influence of the Manners in the Midlands and also to the independent nature of the Lincoln city Council. Rutland came to the realization that since much of his property was centred in the Midlands, this would be a good place to have his main residence. In fact, in 1528 the new earl of Rutland had an estimate done by the king's mason, carpenter, plumber, and others for the cost of repairing

¹⁹ For evidence of suits at law see: Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/1, fos. 217, 248, and PRO C1/860/8; Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/1, f.239; Bindoff, ii, pp. 607-8.

²⁰ Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/1, fo. 239.

²¹ See for example Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/1, fo. 289.



Belvoir castle in Leicestershire.²² The rebuilding process took place over the next few decades. Though Rutland continued to use Elsings as one of his more important residences as well as Holywell in London and Helmsley in Yorkshire, his interest increasingly began to focus on Belvoir and the Midlands.

One effect of this re-building process was that it almost certainly dried up his cash flow. For example, he borrowed money from Cromwell and by the early 1530s he owed the Crown £758. 11s. 4d.²³ This lack of cash may explain why he was so strict with the enforcement of the payment of the two fee farms. The situation concerning the fee farm in the city of York was not much different.

The city had been paying 20 marks also for some time and again Rutland was suing in the Exchequer for the whole amount. The Council aggressively appealed first to Wolsey and after his death to Cromwell. In 1534 Cromwell wrote in his Remembrances that the city needed "helpe ... agenst therle of Rutlande and yet in my powre opynyon the cytee can never encrease by no devyse oneles idylnes of

²² Rutland MSS, ii, p. 331.

²³ LP v, no. 228(ii); *ibid.*, no. 1548; *ibid.*, no. 1645; *ibid.* vi no. 284; *ibid.* viii, no. 169. Further, in 1532, the earl purchased lands in Holt, Norfolk from Thomas Wyngfeld of Durham Magna, Norfolk, esq., for £160. Also in the same year he leased certain woods in Roppesley, Lincolnshire from Abbot Henry Saxton. See PRO C54/400 ms. 7 & 21. However, he sold his manor of Buckland, Herts. in 1529. LP IV, ii, gr. 5624(20). Rutland also got in a dispute with Wolsey over Hartipole in which Cromwell had to intervene. See PRO SP1/47, fo. 311 (LP IV, ii, no. 4229(iii)).



the people there may be reformed ...". For his pains, the city Council agreed to acknowledge and to allow Cromwell's request for the nomination to the office of mace-bearer. Eventually with the mediation of both Lord Chancellor Audley and Cromwell, the earl agreed to a payment of £40 per annum to be paid by half-year installments.²⁴

Rutland became increasingly involved in minor offices which though not necessarily local offices, yet they conferred some influence in the localities. Rutland was on numerous commissions; however, some of these were obviously honourary. He continued in the various commissions of the peace in which he had been placed after he gained livery of his father's lands. Further he was placed on a few new ones. From 1525 to 1535 he was on commissions of the peace (not necessarily continuously) for Yorkshire (all ridings), Essex, Leicestershire, Middlesex, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Surrey, Hertfordshire, and Lincolnshire (all sections).²⁵

We have record of him being appointed on the commission for searches in London in 1525, 1528, and

²⁴ BL Cotton MS, Titus B.1, fo. 285 (LP III, i, gr. 329, note that this is wrongly dated -- should be some time shortly after 1524); PRO SP1/46, fos 160-1 (LP IV, ii nos. 3843, 3846); SP1/88, fos 119-20 (LP, vii, no. 1669); SP1/90, fo. 169 (LP viii, nos. 260); PRO SP1/93, fo. 1 (LP viii, no. 804); VCH Yorks, York, pp. 123.

²⁵ LP IV, i, grs. 1610(11), 2002(11); ibid. (pt.) ii, gr. 5083 (2,4,10-12,16); ibid. (pt.) iii, grs. 5243(28), 5336(11), 6803(12); ibid. (vol.) v grs. 119(11,14,52,55,64,69), 166(8-10) 1694(ii); ibid., no. 838(13,19,27,30).

1529. Also, he was on a special commission of Oyer and Terminer for Middlesex in which he became involved in the trial of the Charter House monks of which more will be revealed later.²⁶

It is not surprising that since Rutland owned vast estates in Yorkshire he retained some active interest in local affairs in that county. This can best be illustrated by a commission Rutland was given by the Crown to investigate the Abbot of Rievaulx in May 1533.

In fact Rutland was given at least two commissions by the Crown at this time. One in order "to examyne and to ordre accordyng to justice and your [Cromwell's] faver her in ..." in regard to the abbot of Fountains Abbey. With the help of Rowland Lee, one of Cromwell's trusted men, Rutland was able to get a similar commission for examining the Abbot of Rievaulx as the Crown had earlier agreed though temporarily failed to implement.²⁷

In the case of Rievaulx Abbey it was on Rutland's initiative that the commission was granted. In a letter to Cromwell, Rowland Lee even referred to "... my Lorde of Rutlandes cause". In a letter to Rutland on 16

²⁶ LP IV, i, no. 1082(1); LP Addenda I, i, nos. 609, 655; see PRO KB 8/7/1, fo. 14 & PRO KB 8/7/2 (LP viii, nos 609(i), 886(i))

²⁷ PRO SP1/76 fo. 130 (This is briefly summarized in LP vi, no. 546). Rutland asked Cromwell for new letters concerning Fountains because "the last lettre was not executed be cause that my cosin Doctor [Thomas] Lee had no tyme to tare in the countreth to execute...". PRO SP1/176, fos. 14, 27 (LP vi, nos 437, 451); See also LP vi, no. 422.

October 1533 the monks of Rievaulx indicated that Rutland himself obtained the commission from the king.²⁸

That Rutland took the initiative should not be surprising since he had vested interests in the Abbey. His ancestors founded it. His father gave bequests to it indicating a close attachment even at that late time. Some of the monks loyal to Rutland there even referred to Rievaulx as Rutland's monastery which was in fact near to the truth since this was one of the numerous religious houses of which Rutland was patron.²⁹ Further, Rutland owned property which bordered on Rievaulx.³⁰ Rutland was apparently not on the commission itself though three of his servants were: a member from each of the Constable and Beslay families and James Ellerker. The commission then deposed the abbot and made provisions for free elections. However, a split arose between those monks of Rutland's party and those of the abbot of Byland's party. The Abbot of Byland was to hold the new elections but it was alleged by those in Rutland's party that he in fact held private inquiries with the monks causing some of the monks to change their minds and alleging that Rutland's commission from the Crown was forged. Further those from Rutland's party alleged that those of the abbot of

²⁸ PRO SP1/76, fo. 27.

²⁹ PRO SP1/238 fo. 155 (LP Addenda I, i, no. 872); Leland's Itinerary, i, p. 93.

³⁰ I am grateful to Ms Janice Housez of McGill University for supplying me with this last point though I would not necessarily wish to commit her to any conclusions I have reached in this chapter.

Byland's party were conveying to him goods from the monastery.³¹

In the end Rutland got his way and on St. Nicholas day the abbott quondam of Ruffurth, Rowland Blyton, was installed at Rievaulx and the late abbott of Rievaulx Edward Kyrkby, sang Te Deum at his installation. It is not apparent as to what the late abbot did to cause such censure.³²

However, the sin, if there was one, was not fatal. The assigning of his pension was left up to Rutland. Dr. Thomas Lee (not to be confused with Rowland) wrote from York to Cromwell on 10 December 1533: "I wold he had a honeste leyffinge not with standyng he has eny desurveyt ytt other to my said lord [of Rutland] or me...".³³

It appears then that at least in the case of Rievaulx, Rutland took the initiative in getting a commission formed in order to depose the old abbot and to have a new abbot installed. This illustrates a large degree of confidence placed in him by Cromwell and it also reveals the amount of influence Rutland had in this part of Yorkshire. Also, it would be presumptuous of us to assume that Rutland was getting his man into Rievaulx in order specifically to take advantage of the future Dissolution. Rutland did not know at this time that the

³¹ PRO SP1/238, fo.155 (LP I, i, no. 872).

³² I am grateful to Janice Housez for supplying me with these names.

³³ PRO SP1/80, fo. 198 (LP vi, no. 1513).

monasteries would be dissolved and Rievaulx itself was not fully dissolved until 1539. It is possible that Rutland was acting on what he considered a legitimate grievance. If that was the case, then his move was well played, since in the process he demonstrated his loyalty to the Crown, while the Crown, in turn, revealed its support for Rutland in granting him the commission.

As events move toward Rutland's religious orientation it is perhaps best to analyse what that orientation might have been. Rutland's support for Anne Boleyn in the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon, his part in the commission concerning the Charter House monks, and his commission to examine some monks in Grantham reveal that he was increasingly supporting Henry's religious policy.

There is no evidence to suggest that Rutland held any Protestant inclinations until the question of the divorce of Henry VIII from Catharine of Aragon came into the central arena. Here he was confronted with a choice between obedience to Pope or to king. As the Mannors showed earlier and later in the century, they were obedient servants of the Crown and for Rutland this issue was no exception.

Little evidence exists to give us an idea of the moral dilemma with which Rutland was faced. However, in July 1529, Rutland was one of the signatories of the letter by the lords spiritual and temporal to the pope

which requested that he consent to the king's divorce.³⁴

He therefore backed the king at an early date.

Our next brief glimpse, which may give us an idea of the moral dilemma which he faced, can be seen in a letter of 15 February 1553 from the Imperial Ambassador to Charles V. The events and interpretation of those events can neither be disproved nor corroborated from any other source yet discovered:

And upon the earl of Wiltshire asking him, Rutland, whether when the motion was brought forward in Parliament he, who was one of the king's blood, would vote for him or oppose the measure, he answered that the matter was wholly of a spiritual nature and could not be decided by Parliament. Upon which the lady's father got into a passion as though Rutland had uttered a blasphemy, and began to taunt him in very gross language, so much so that he at last promised to vote whatever the King wanted, and sent me a message to say how matters stood, and that I was not to expect that any member of Parliament would dare offer any opposition.³⁵

The Imperial Ambassador further mentioned that Wiltshire himself tried to dissuade the king from the marriage in the past.³⁶

Whether or not we can rely on the Imperial Ambassador's account as told to him by Rutland is not certain. The ambassador certainly was trying to convince

³⁴ PRO E30/1012a (LP IV, iii, no. 6513).

³⁵ CSPS IV, ii, pp. 601-2.

³⁶ There is somewhat of an apocryphal account of the earl of Rutland in the Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England, trans. M. A. Sharp Hume (London, 1889), pp. 44-5, in which an aging Rutland appeared very reluctant to give up Queen Katherine's crown to Henry VIII. However, Dr. David Starkey of the London School of Economics has indicated that this was actually an allusion to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who was her chamberlain.

the emperor that Henry VIII was set to defy the Pope. Yet it can be seen that Rutland was present during the readings and the expedition of the bill on the marriage of Henry VIII and the lady Anne and there is no real evidence that has yet been discovered to suggest that Rutland opposed the marriage (or after the above episode, the divorce) in any way.³⁷ Rutland's initial insistence that the matter was of a spiritual nature and could not be decided by Parliament actually echoed a similar statement earlier made (though later contradicted) by Henry to Sir Thomas More. Also, as was shown, Rutland immediately came to terms with the new queen.

Rutland's allegiance to Henry's religious policy was further demonstrated in the special commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trials of the Charter House monks in 1535.³⁸ It is possible that the Crown included Rutland in this commission due to the success of his former commission in investigating the abbot of Rievaulx. This was a particularly dark side of the English Reformation which ended in torture and death for the monks involved who refused to recognize Henry VIII's headship over the Church in England.

When Catherine of Aragon and Princess Mary were banished from the Court, the Princess Mary spent a night at the earl of Rutland's house in Enfield on her way to

³⁷ LJ i, pp. 65-79.

³⁸ PRO KB8/7/1, fo. 14 & PRO KB8/7/2; PRO SP1/94, fo. 249 (LP viii, no. 1149); Rutland MSS i, p. 25.

her more permanent residence.³⁹ This may have indicated that there was still a feeling of mutual respect between the two parties.

Rutland was again involved in investigating certain alleged religious indiscretions. On 31 July 1535 Rutland wrote to Cromwell from Belvoir Castle that two days earlier the alderman of Grantham with others went to Belvoir in order to inform Rutland that "one of the freres of the same towne had appetched othir frers of the said house of certiane woordes, bringing with theym ... certaine bookes and other papers of the demeanour and sayinges of the said freres...". Rutland had the friars placed in jail, "as it touched the kinges highnes...". Rutland sent the aldermen to Cromwell.⁴⁰ On 9 August, Cromwell wrote back and requested Rutland to examine the friars.⁴¹

Rutland appears to have been neither a machiavellian who used religion merely in order to further his own political ambitions nor was he an idealist who was prepared to risk death, confiscation of his property, and proscription of his family line. From his actions one can infer that he held obedience to the Crown as a higher good than obedience to his conscience. This Erastianism insured the survival of the family throughout the

³⁹ BL Cotton MS Cleopatra E.VI [old fo. 317] fo. 329 (LP vi, no. 1486).

⁴⁰ PRO SP1/94, fo. 249.

⁴¹ Rutland MSS i, p. 25.

turbulent upheavals that especially occurred in the high politics of the mid-Tudor period.

This combined with his growing influence in the Midlands set the stage for Rutland's involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace. In financial and political terms this proved to be the most important military involvement in which any member of the family participated throughout the Tudor period.

Chapter 3

WAR, SERVICE, AND PROFIT, 1536-43

The first earl's ability to profit from the Dissolution of the Monasteries was the second most important factor in the political and financial history of the Manners family, the first being the fifteenth century Roos/Manners marriage. Though it is always difficult in the study of history precisely to determine causes and effects, nevertheless, background details can be considered and a probable picture may arise at times. With this in mind, certain possible influences both before and during this time will be investigated in order to place the earl's profiting from the dissolutions in context. For example, Rutland's connections with various of the monasteries will be discussed and the earl's involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace will be investigated in light of the profit that followed. Also, Rutland's various contacts at Court will be indicated along with his adherence to the Crown's religious settlement. Further, his new post-Dissolution influence in the localities will be briefly highlighted along with his involvement in Scotland in 1542. In the end it will be seen that various factors all helped to contribute to the outcome which in various ways influenced the family for hundreds of years to come. Further, his profits from the Dissolution raised his national and local profile.

An act was secured in Parliament in March 1536

fees for the master of the rolls, 4s. for the master examiners fees, and 40s. "for the wrytyng and ingrossyng ther of".³

On 2 September he was formally granted, in tail, the site of the dissolved abbey, along with other property, which was valued at £188 per annum, for a rent of just over £121, by way of tenth. This meant that he was left with a gift worth just under one-hundred marks. This was in reward for services rendered to the Crown, probably including Rutland's involvement in the trial of the Charter House Monks and his general support of Henry VIII. In March 1541 he was granted in fee the reversion and rent.⁴ Rutland therefore did quite well in his first acquisition of former religious property. This new property also helped to augment Rutland's vast Yorkshire estates.

Rutland was in a good position to get his foot in the door on this one because he was the steward of its Lincolnshire lands and also an hereditary patron.⁵ However, Rutland's thirst for former monastic lands had to be quenched for the short term though his next

³ Ibid.; VCH Yorkshire iii, p. 176.

⁴ PRO C66/669, m. 12 (LP xi, gr. 519(1)); LP xvi, gr. 678(6). In practice many patrons were able to purchase these properties at reduced prices. These and other figures have been rounded to the nearest pound unless otherwise indicated. See Henry VIII and the English Nobility, p. 234 in which is mentioned this grant.

⁵ Valor Ecclesiasticus iv, p. 126; Leland's Itinerary i, p. 93.

endeavours would prove to help secure him a fortune in the long term.

As seen in the previous chapter, his loyalty to Henry's religious settlement was early affirmed. This continued to be the case. His involvement in the Lincolnshire rising and the Pilgrimage of Grace helped him receive much favour from the Crown.

In regard to its effects on the Manners family, the most important military action in which any member of the family became involved in the sixteenth century was without a doubt the crushing of the rebels in the Lincolnshire rebellion and in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The rebellions were a reaction to various reforms initiated by the Crown including the Dissolution of the lesser monasteries in 1536 and the collection of the new subsidy. It is not the intention to re-tell here the story of the rebellions, since so much has been written on them. However, Rutland's involvement must be investigated in order to reveal his commitment to the Crown.

Following outbreaks of violence in England, Henry summoned a Council meeting and Rutland (still a Privy Councillor) was one of nineteen who attended.⁶ Rutland was quickly sent to defend Nottingham Castle. With some of his household servants, he arrived early in October. He was quick to survey the state of the Castle and to

⁶ PRO SP1/105, fos. 2-4 (LP xi, no. 5).

send out a spy. He immediately sent letters to Cromwell asking for money and post horses, and to the king indicating the state of the Castle.⁷ However, the situation was peaceful in Nottingham though revolts soon broke out in Lincolnshire.

Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had become a great inheritor of land in Lincolnshire after his marriage to the daughter of Lord Willoughby. The same month the king therefore sent him to Lincolnshire as his lieutenant to try to suppress the rebellion there. Rutland and Shrewsbury (also great landowners in the Midlands) joined him. When peace was restored Henry then sent Shrewsbury as lieutenant with Rutland and Huntingdon to Holderness in Yorkshire to suppress what was to be known as the Pilgrimage of Grace and which was in effect a northern rebellion.⁸

Both Suffolk and Shrewsbury were close friends and allies of the Mannors. For example, Suffolk had a room in Rutland's manor of the Eagle in Lincolnshire and one of Rutland's daughters was even named after Katherine, a daughter of Suffolk's. Shrewsbury's son, George Lord Talbot, eventually married Gertrude, one of Rutland's daughters, on 29 April 1539, bringing the Shrewsbury/

⁷ BCA 11 (For excerpts from this account see Rutland MSS iv, pp. 277-87); PRO SP1/107, fo. 58 (LP, xi, no. 581).

⁸ LP xi, no. 656; PRO SP3/I, fo. 86 (LP XIV, i, no. 1312).

Manners relationship even closer.⁹

It has been common knowledge that five northern earls supported the king during the northern rebellion: Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland, Derby, and Shrewsbury. However, the number was, in fact, six.¹⁰ It has been shown that Rutland held vast Yorkshire estates and that his family had lived in Northumberland until quite recently. It was probably no surprise to Rutland and the others, then, that he would be sent north. In fact among the numerous manors he held in Yorkshire, was Walxholme, in Holderness, which was a parcel of the late priory of Warter, all of which he had just purchased from the Crown.¹¹ He therefore also had personal reasons for wanting the rebellions pacified.

These men were joined by Norfolk and Exeter who brought with them 5,000 picked men. On 29 October, Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon were able to write to the king from Doncaster that the Yorkshire rebels had been "disparpled" at Pomfret and that they dissolved the English forces and sent the ordinance to Nottingham

⁹ PRO SP3/xi, fo. 61 (LP XIV, i, no. 853). At the same time Richard Manners (who was also knighted that year) married Margaret, da. of Sir Robert Dymoke of Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire, widow of Richard Vernon of Haddon, Derbyshire, and of Sir William Coffyn. PRO SP3/xi, fo. 84 (LP XIV, i, no. 859); Bindoff ii, pp. 563-4.

¹⁰ See, for example, Tudor England, p. 152. (Neither the first nor the second earls of Rutland are mentioned throughout this book.)

¹¹ PRO E305/5/C57 (LP xvii, no. 881(16)).

according to the king's command.¹² Eustace Chapuys wrote to the Empress Isabella on 5 November that Rutland with Norfolk, Shrewsbury, Dorset, and other captains had a:

conference with the rebels in the North, who, as stated in a former despatch, have risen in arms against this king. They could not have acted more prudently, for otherwise both the king and his kingdom might have been placed in jeopardy.

Further, ten to fifteen of the chiefs were pardoned.¹³

In accordance with Henry's orders, Rutland with the ordnance returned to Nottingham by 10 November. Some of his servants had been in Nottingham since at least early October and many others went there later.¹⁴ Days later, Rutland left Nottingham Castle and was making his way to the Court when at Pipewell Abbey in Northamptonshire, he received a letter from the king to return to Nottingham Castle. On his return, Rutland immediately had the passages surveyed and sent out spies in order that the temperature of the rebels could be gauged. The spies informed him that the rebels had gone home but that they would be able to re-group at a moment's notice. Rutland sent a letter by his trustworthy servant, Sir Nicholas Strelley, to the king asking him to send him some experienced man of war to give him some good advice since, as he stated, neither he, nor his household servants, nor the king's servants at Nottingham with him

¹² PRO SP1/108, fos 191-2 (LP xi, no. 771); PRO SP1/110, fo. 8 (LP xi, no. 910).

¹³ CSPS 1536-38, p. 279.

¹⁴ PRO SP1/108, fos 136-8 (LP xi, no. 747); BCA 11.

were expert in war. He also stated that the castle could not be defended without a great force. On 14 November Henry wrote to Rutland that he should use Roger Ratcliffe whom he had sent.¹⁵ On the same day Rutland sent a letter, with the same bearer, to Cromwell asking him to intervene on his behalf to the king for money especially since Rutland doubted that he would get his Yorkshire rents for that year.¹⁶

On 22 November he wrote to the king that the castle was now not only fortified and victualled, but that Nottingham bridge was also well fortified and defended. However, Rutland also indicated that he lacked money, gunners, powder, and artillery.¹⁷ A survey made of the castle in November indicated that the earl with various knights of the country kept a council weekly there and that Rutland had under his command four or five hundred men. Rutland placed guns round about the castle. One hundred pigs, three hundred sheep, two hundred oxen were killed and laid in a pile inside. He had provisions of wheat, rye, malt, green peas, dried peas, and oats as well. The countryside were commanded to bring in their grain and others were assigned as purveyors. Rutland had a new draw bridge made with a new portcullis, though it was noted that the commons were clearly loyal to Henry.¹⁸

¹⁵ PRO SP1/111, fos. 51-2, 107-10 (LP xi, nos 1037, 1062).

¹⁶ PRO SP1/111, fos. 53-4 (LP xi, no. 1038).

¹⁷ PRO SP1/111, fo. 215 (LP xi, no. 1136).

¹⁸ PRO SP1/111, fo. 248 (LP xi, no. 1155).

Though Rutland eventually left Nottingham, he remained in charge of the garrison there until his death in 1543.¹⁹ This was probably the first major visible sign of his influence in this county -- an influence which would eventually surpass that of the mighty earl of Shrewsbury.

However, the insurrections in the North had not fully quieted and Rutland was called back to Doncaster, in south-west Yorkshire, at the end of November, as part of a commission to deal with the rebels there.²⁰ Rutland, with twenty-five of his ninety or so servants who dressed in blue, complied with the orders. The northern rebels were granted a strategic "pardon", but Norfolk, Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon on the one hand and Derby, with the forces of Cheshire, Lancashire, and part of North Wales on the other were ordered to prepare again in early December to fight the northern rebels if necessary. Also, Rutland was appointed in May 1537 to a special commission of Oyer and Terminer to try Yorkshire rebels.²¹

Rutland's role in the rebellions was two-fold. As a vast landowner in the North and in the north-east Mid-

¹⁹ Keepership granted by letters patent. See Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England vii, ed. Sir H. Nicolas (London, 1837), p. 297.

²⁰ LP xi, nos. 1205-6.

²¹ Ibid. nos. 1236, 1410(3); PRO SP1/113, fos 86-7 (LP xi, no. 1410(3)) Rutland MSS iv, p. 279; LP XII, i, no. 1227(4).

lands he was certainly influential since theoretically he could count on the support of his tenants in those areas (though in reality his Yorkshire tenants rebelled). Further, his defence of Nottingham castle was an important part of the Crown's tactics. Nottingham castle became not only the Crown's storage depot for weapons and victuals, but it was in a central location, being in the heart of the Midlands and not too far from Doncaster or the rest of southern Yorkshire. Rutland's ability to fortify and victual it must have proved disheartening to the rebels. In December of that year Rutland's brother, Richard was appointed keeper of Nottingham park, which further strengthened the Manners influence there.²²

Early in 1537 the Crown tried to appoint a new warden of the East and Middle Marches to replace Northumberland. Westmorland was first offered the position, but he refused. Rutland was next asked but he also refused. Afterwards, Norfolk noted him a man of too "moche pusillanimitie, to have doon us good service in it, if he wold have embraced our overture in it".²³ However, in a letter to Cromwell on 12 April 1537 Norfolk changed his rhetoric about Rutland and in doing so gave a unique insight into his views of Rutland's personality. He mentioned that he thought Rutland:

²² Ibid. XII, ii, gr. 1311(11).

²³ BL Harl MS 6989, fo. 69 (a summary is given in LP xii, i, no. 667) -- Norfolk also verbally abused Westmorland's reputation.

most mete for that he is of kyn to all the jantlemen of Northumberland or few wantyng and for that he is a man that woll here and folow counsell and being alied with my lord of Westmerland is sewer at all tymes to have all his poure at commandment and if war shuld come it is perilous to have an hasty herdy man to have the rewle of suche people specially if he woll after his owne mynd without being rewled by counsell frely set on suche enemys as the skottes be wiche can trayne men to imbushmentes aswell as any men lyvyng.²⁴

This letter is very enlightening. Norfolk specifically mentioned the fact that he was related to most of the Northumberland gentry which is of course an allusion to the fact that his ancestors were Northumberland men. His alliance which he mentioned with Westmorland was in fact a marriage alliance (in addition to his traditional friendship with the Nevilles). On 2 July 1536, Lord Henry Neville, son and heir to Ralph, fourth earl of Westmorland, married Rutland's eldest daughter, Anne. On the same day, Henry, the future second earl of Rutland married Lady Margaret, another of Westmorland's offspring.²⁵ Norfolk then highlighted the idea that Rutland took orders well and was cautious, a character trait which he earlier referred to as pusillanimity.

Rutland, however, did not want to go to the borders at this time. In September 1537 Norfolk also recom-

²⁴ PRO SP1/118, pp. 155-6 (a summary is given in LP XII, i, no. 919).

²⁵ Also, Lord John Viscount Bulbeck son and heir of Sir John de Vere, earl of Oxford married Lady Dorothy, eldest da. of the said Westmorland at the church at Holywell the same day. See BL Add MS 38133, fo. 105-6.

mended to Cromwell that Richard Manners be vice-warden for Redesdale.²⁶ However, Rutland's next and last encounter with the borders was as warden of the East and Middle Marches in 1542, only a year before his death, of which more will be mentioned later. Rutland's involvement in crushing the rebels further proved his firm support of the Tudor regime as can now be seen. The success of Rutland and his comrades meant new financial rewards.

Rutland was very well placed to exploit the rewards. It was at this time in his life that he spent the most time at Court. This was something which the next earl was not able to equal. Rutland was lord chamberlain to Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, and Catherine Howard, therefore placing him in the office from May 1536 - October 1537 and January 1540 - February 1542. Lady Rutland was one of the ladies in the Privy Chamber of Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves and also possibly of Catherine Howard. Documentation left to posterity relating to what exactly Lord and Lady Rutland did in their Court positions at this time is generally lacking except for numerous references in the Belvoir Castle household accounts indicating attendance at Court.²⁷

²⁶ PRO SP1/124, fo. 236 (LP XII, ii, no. 696(2)).

²⁷ A great exception to this are the numerous letters in the Lisle Papers written to Lady Lisle at Calais from the soldier/merchant John Husee, from Lady Lisle's daughters, and even from Lady Rutland, in which it is evident that Lady Lisle indefatigably tried to get her
(continued...)

Rutland himself was with Queen Jane Seymour near the end of October 1537 when her health failed her, following the birth of Prince Edward, and he with others wrote a letter to Cromwell on the 24th indicating her deteriorating condition. In the funeral procession which followed the body in early November, Lady Rutland followed in the first chariot, an indication of her influence at Court. In the same procession, Sir Richard Manners bore a banner.²⁸

On 6 January 1540, Henry VIII married Anne, daughter of Duke William of Cleves. Though Henry was somewhat reluctant, he did so at the urging of Cromwell who was eager to form an alliance with the Protestant League of Schmalkalden. However, the marriage, as well as Cromwell's religious policy, quickly proved unpopular at Court. Cromwell was imprisoned and then executed and Henry divorced Anne.²⁹

On 12 June 1540, while in the Tower, Cromwell wrote an enlightening letter to Henry. Cromwell claimed that contrary to a charge against him that he revealed a secret entrusted to him by the king, he had in fact acted on a suggestion from Henry himself. Cromwell indicated that Henry had earlier told him to go to Anne of Cleves

²⁷(...continued)

two daughters positions at Court (with some success) by frequent petitions and gifts to Lady Rutland. Katherine, one of the daughters, even became one of Lady Rutland's ladies. See PRO SP3/1 & 6-13 (these are calendared in LP)

²⁸ LP xii, ii, nos. 970, 1060.

²⁹ Tudor England, pp. 184-5.

and mention to her various faults which Henry thought she had (without mentioning the king) with the goal of reformation. Cromwell mentioned that he lacked the opportunity to see the queen and talked to Rutland instead on two occasions, the second being when Rutland and others of the queen's Council went to Westminster to see Cromwell for licence for the departure of certain "strange maydens". Cromwell's goal, as he wrote to the king, was that "she myght have bene inducyd to suche pleasaunt and honorable fassyons as might have been to your gracys comfforde...".³⁰

The first and second earls of Rutland were involved in some way in various major Court controversies in the mid-Tudor period and in all of them they were able to glide through unscathed. Rutland was in an awkward position because he was lord chamberlain to a queen so unpopular that she would be the downfall of Cromwell. Rutland's saving grace was his unshaken loyalty to the king, his unflamboyant personality, and his growing influence in the provinces.

In a letter of 9 July 1540, a month after Cromwell's arrest and less than three weeks before his execution, Rutland wrote to him concerning his own recent contacts with the queen and the duke of Cleves' ambassador. He wrote that Anne had just received some bad news from the

³⁰ BL Cotton MS Titus B.I. [old folios 267-8], fos 273-4 (summarized in LP xv, no. 776).

king which she did not take well -- a reference to the divorce, of course. In this letter Rutland stated that he informed the queen of the king's graciousness and virtue and that basically the latter would do what was just. Rutland further indicated to Cromwell that he would like to know what the king wanted him to do in case the queen or the ambassador decided to act further.³¹

Lady Rutland was equally as loyal to the king. Ladies Rutland, Rochford, and Edgecombe constituted a jury to examine Anne to determine whether or not the royal marriage had been consummated. Their verdict was, of course, that the queen had earlier confessed to them that it had not been. The countess, with various others, was present at the signing of the divorce. It was certainly in reward for their loyalty to the king that after the divorce and the fall of Cromwell, the Crown granted to the earl the office of warden and chief justice and justice in eyre of the forests beyond Trent, an office previously held by Cromwell. He was further granted the stewardship of Cromwell's former manor of Halifax, Yorkshire also in 1540.³²

In July 1540, Henry married Catherine Howard and Rutland was her lord chamberlain. In February 1542 she was executed for adultery. Earlier, in November 1541, John Dudley, Lord Lisle, future earl of Warwick and duke

³¹ Rutland MSS i, p. 27.

³² LP xv, nos. 850(14), 872; ibid., gr. 1027(22); BCG, no. 45.

of Northumberland confided in Rutland concerning the growing scandal. Though he was somewhat vague, the tone of the letter was such that one could imagine that Lisle and Rutland had probably earlier conversed on the subject.³³ This was yet another case in which Rutland abandoned his immediate loyalties and backed the king. It was also one of the first major associations with Dudley which would recur, as regards the second earl, during the falls of Lord Admiral Seymour, the duke of Somerset, and the Lady Jane Grey.

Rutland also spent much time in Parliament (and therefore near the Court) when various dissolved monasteries were being sold by the Crown. For the Parliament which was in session from 8 June to 18 July 1536 Rutland was in attendance at about two-thirds of the days on which it met. Rutland was in attendance for a similar proportion of the sittings of the Parliament which began on 28 April 1539 and ended on 24 July 1540. However, he attended only a little over one in three of the days of the Parliament of 1542. He missed most of the days because of his office of warden of the East and Middle Marches in 1542 and because he became increasingly ill and died before the end of that Parliament.³⁴

It is fairly difficult to ascertain exactly what Rutland did or voted for during these Parliaments.

³³ Rutland MSS i, p. 28.

³⁴ LJ i, pp. 84-234.

However, one may safely assume that he supported the Crown, especially in regard to major items such as the Dissolution of the lesser and greater monasteries, and the attainting of Cromwell. However, it is known that during the 1536 Parliament Rutland, with others, was trier of petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. For the next two Parliaments he was Trier of petitions from Gascony and from other lands beyond the sea. These were fairly routine responsibilities, though the former was usually reserved for higher ranking members of the nobility. However, it is to Rutland's profiting from Crown lands that we must now return.³⁵

Earlier, in 1536, an exchange with the Crown was devised wherein Rutland would get Penteney Priory in Norfolk and the Crown would get Rutland's Northumberland property. However, the plan was soon aborted and one Robert Hogay wrote to Cromwell begging him not to have Penteney dissolved. Hogay also alleged that Rutland did not really want it anyway because the farm was not as profitable as he once thought. However, Hogay's worst fears were soon met.³⁶

Rutland kept his eyes on Penteney and he was well placed for the catch. Some of the Roos property lay in Norfolk. Further, Rutland was an hereditary patron of

³⁵ Ibid., 84, 103, 164; Henry VIII and the English Nobility, p. 122.

³⁶ LP Addenda I, i, no. 1093; SP1/106, fo. 233 (LP xi, no. 518).

the priory. Also important, his father-in-law, Sir William Paston, was on the Court of Augmentations commission for the suppression of the priory in October 1536. It was earlier noted that the house was in good state and did many charitable deeds and the commission refused to suppress it then because of the insurrection and fear of local hostility. However, the county commissioners sold various goods from the priory in February 1537 for £115 and almost a year later the priory itself was leased to Rutland for 21 years. The reversion and rent for twenty-one years were granted to him the following year for £326, its annual value being £25.³⁷

By 1538 Cromwell initiated a campaign to dissolve the remaining 202 larger religious institutions (legitimized by an act in Parliament in 1539).³⁸ This act included many of the remaining religious houses which Rutland purchased or exchanged with the Crown.

He next cast his eyes towards Croxton monastery in Leicestershire. On 12 September 1538, only four days after its surrender, he earnestly petitioned Cromwell for the monastery indicating that it was near Belvoir Castle and that he would be willing either to purchase it or exchange some of his property for it. On the same day he wrote a letter, equally earnest, to Wriothesley (one of Cromwell's men) urging him to help him to obtain the

³⁷ Leland's Itinerary i, p.93; See VCH Norfolk, (ed. W. Page), ii, p. 390; LP XIV, i, gr. 651 no.(27).

³⁸ Tudor England, p. 147.

same.³⁹ Then on 18 March 1539 a huge exchange took place.

In exchange for the manors of Worcesters and Elsings Hall, both in Middlesex, and the manor of Chilham in Kent, the Crown granted to Rutland the house and site of the late monastery of Croxton near Belvoir Castle. Further, Rutland was granted the house and site of what is today one of the most beautiful ruined former religious properties in England, Rievaulx Abbey, in Yorkshire. Rievaulx, of which Rutland was a patron, was in the vicinity of his Helmsley property. Rievaulx alone is valued in the Valor Ecclesiasticus at the conservative figure of nearly £280 per annum, while Rutland's receiver placed it at the more realistic figure of just under £340. Included with Croxton were nearly fifteen manors.⁴⁰

In March 1541, Rutland purchased the late monastery of Garendon, valued at £173 in the Valor, for a rent of £114.⁴¹ In June of that year he was granted (no purchase price mentioned) various lands and manors held of the late monasteries of Noneton, Drax, Oulveston, Lilleshull, Kirkeham (including the manor of Helmsley, of Rievaulx

³⁹ Deputy Keeper's Reports, viii (1847), app, ii, p. 18; SP1/136, fos 137-8; SP7/1, no. 38 (LP, XIII, ii, nos. 331-2).

⁴⁰ LP XIV, i, gr 651(43), Rutland held both Croxton and Rievaulx at an annual rent of £280; Leland's Itinerary i, p. 93; Valor Ecclesiasticus v, p. 144; BCA 301.

⁴¹ Valor Ecclesiasticus iv, p. 173; LP xvi, gr. 678(7).

Abbey, and of the late priory of Kirkeby Bellers). The next month he got together with Robert Tirwhit, esq. and they exchanged various lands and paid money to the Crown in return for the late preceptory of the Eagle, in Lincolnshire and the priories of Belvoir (near Belvoir Castle and of which Rutland was a patron) and Kyme in the same county and Nunburnholme in Yorkshire. Rutland also made an exchange with the Crown in September 1542 in which he received, among other things, the house and site of Ulvescroft Priory.⁴²

Rutland was also an instrument for others to gain from the Dissolution and perhaps two examples of this will suffice. Rutland had been a patron as well as high steward of Newstead and in 1538 a twenty-one year lease of the former priory was granted to Richard Manners his brother. However, Richard himself was gaining some influence at Court and was, for example, in the royal Household as cupbearer to Anne of Cleves (this, however, was at least in part due to his noble brother). In April 1540 Sir Richard was granted the house and site in fee for £400.⁴³ Secondly, Rutland sold the manor of Alton,

⁴² LP xvi, no. 947(11), 1056(78), 1488(5); Note -- Belvoir Priory and the Eagle were to be held by both men and the heirs and assigns of the earl forever, while the rest of the property was to be held by both men and to the heirs and assigns of Robert forever. They alienated Nunburnholme in Dec. 1541; Leland's Itinerary i, p. 93; LP xvii, no. 881(16).

⁴³ Leland's Itinerary i, p. 93, in all Rutland was patron of: Kirkham, Rievaulx, Warter, Belvoir, Frestan, Newsted, Irford, Wardon, Lynne, Suteley, in Sulby

(continued...)

which was a possession of Garendon monastery, to Henry Digby of Tickencote who was a faithful servant and one of his executors.⁴⁴

By Henry's death almost two-thirds of the monastic property had been alienated. The total gross receipts of Henry VIII's land sales, from 1536, were £799,310. Further, if one adds the amount received from rents from these lands the total rises to £1.3 millions.⁴⁵

During Henry's reign, 1,539 grants were made. Over 95% of the land was sold (or exchanged) based on fresh valuations and only 69 grants were gifts (or partial gifts).⁴⁶ Rutland's situation was therefore not unique.

Rutland wasted no time in utilizing his property to his best economic advantage. There are many examples of this. He turned the preceptory of the Eagle into a manor house and it became one of his main residences. He dismantled Belvoir Priory, stripped it of lead and stone and

⁴³(...continued)

Northamptonshire, and Penteney. He was also patron of the Carmelite houses in Boston, Blakeney, Cambridge, and of the collegiate church of Bolton in Alendale, Northumberland. See also, Bod. L. Ashmolean MS 848, fo. 3. In total, Rutland was steward, or chief steward, of Holywell Priory, the Bishopric of Lincoln in the lordship and wapentake of Newark, the monastery of Croyland, Newboo Abbey, Peterborough Abbey, (in Northampton), Kirkham Priory, Warter Priory, and Newstead Priory, see Valor Ecclesiasticus i, p. 394; ibid. iv, pp. 5, 87, 111, 283; ibid. v, pp. 104, 126, 154; In 1533 he was granted the stewardship of the town and lordship of Wakefield, see Doyle iii, p. 190; LP XIV, i, no. 1355, p. 605; ibid. xv, no. 21 & gr. 612(15).

⁴⁴ Rutland MSS iv, pp. 337, 344; See also BCAM 103 for his letter book.

⁴⁵ Tudor England, p. 145.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

had the monuments removed to Bottesford church, where they remain to this day. He even had the fish removed from the great ponds and taken to Belvoir.⁴⁷

The situation at Croxton was similar. He repaired the manor house at Croxton, but he destroyed the former abbey. He took the "viols" and books to Belvoir (he placed the books in his chapel). He had the steeple taken down and removed the window from above the high altar and installed it in one of his manor houses. He also took stone and timber from the former monastery and had the roof stripped of lead.⁴⁸

Before the earl's death he owned over 100 manors. It is fortunate that his general receiver's accounts survive during this period so that we can get an idea of his income from these manors. They not only give us accurate sums for receipts in various counties, but the later accounts have a separate section for lands received from the Crown.

Rutland's receiver's accounts for Martinmas 1541 to Martinmas 1542 indicate that in Yorkshire Rutland received £1125. He became the largest property owner in Leicestershire and he received that year £466. In Lincolnshire the figure was £358. In Northamptonshire his landed income was £117. In Sussex, Norfolk, and Nottinghamshire he received for each a little under £100

⁴⁷ Rutland MSS iv, pp. 292-323.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

and in Northumberland the figure was £50. These figures do not include arrearages. In total, then, for the year, he received from rents, fees, and foreign receipts £2399.⁴⁹

Rutland's new purchases of land boosted his interests in Yorkshire and the Midlands. Included in the above figures is land he recently purchased from the king which, excluding arrearages, gave him a yearly income of £1048 alone. £546 of this was from Yorkshire and £376 was from Leicestershire, with most of the remainder coming from Lincolnshire. At the same time his influence in the Midlands was increasing and his service in the North continued.⁵⁰

However, we need directly to examine Rutland's influence in various counties in order to get more detail. Christine Black researched the extent and effects of patronage (among other things) in Nottinghamshire (as well as in Derbyshire). She noted that the earls of Rutland had increasing influence in Nottinghamshire from the 1530s even to the extent that it later supplanted the influence of the earls of Shrewsbury in that county. She determined this by examining JPs and MPs who were possible recipients of Rutland's patronage.⁵¹

⁴⁹ BCA 301 (excluding £676 in arrearages).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ C.J. Black, "Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Notts. and Derbs. 1529-1555 (Univ. of
(continued...)

Enough material exists in the Belvoir muniment room for a future historian or historians to conduct detailed local studies of Rutland's influence. For example, one could investigate the economic effects which the administration of his estates had on certain local communities. It is hoped that this thesis will spark investigations of this nature, but these and other studies are far beyond our scope at this time.⁵² Without reading too much into them, we must next quickly turn to Rutland's possible influence on various elections of MPs

⁵¹(...continued)

London unpub. Ph.D. thesis, 1966), p. 261; see the useful information concerning Rutland scattered throughout the volume. Black was also a contributor for Bindoff and some of her biographical work is included there. See Bindoff i-iii on which much of this section relies.

There are limits to this type of study, however. Robert Tittler in a recent study has questioned, among other things, if it can be assumed that patronage in this case is always a one way street. For example, some cities were strong enough to elect their own MPs without interference from the nobility and in fact members of the nobility themselves courted these MPs. Further, Tittler brought into question the validity of associating power in the counties with the assumed ability of a member of the nobility to influence the outcome of elections of MPs. He therefore stands as a critic to the methodology initiated by Neale and augmented by the History of Parliament Trust. Robert Tittler, "Elizabethan Towns and the 'Points of Contact', Parliament", In Parliament History viii, 1989.

A middle approach has been followed in this thesis. Although there is no direct relationship between Rutland's ability to get his men appointed as MPs (and on commissions such as justice of the peace) and his power in specific counties, nevertheless combined with numerous other information, these factors may be helpful in giving one a rough picture of certain trends.

⁵² Janice Housez, has conducted a study of estate officials in Rievaulx abbey in the North Riding before, during, and after the Dissolution. She has indicated that Rutland did not show active concern with this property.

to Parliament. This will be built upon in the next chapter.

Following Rutland's new acquisitions in Leicestershire, it would not be surprising if his influence in that county increased. John Digby was returned in the 1539 county elections. He perhaps grew up in the Rutland household and he was a servant of his at least by 1540. The Digby family also had some standing in Leicestershire and Rutland was perhaps eager to court that. Sir Richard Manners, who lived in Garendon, Leicestershire, was elected first knight of the shire at the same time, a further indication of the growing Manners influence. It was at this time that the Manners influence began to rival that of the Grey and Hastings families at least until the first earl of Rutland's death. The latter two had dominated until the Dissolution.⁵³

Anthony Missendon was elected MP for Lincoln in 1539 and 1542 though this was brought about through his office of recorder for the city. However, he was earlier one of Rutland's servants and though the duke of Suffolk appointed him as recorder, it was probably to oblige Rutland who had earlier asked for the nomination. In any case, Rutland continued to hold influence in Lincoln because of the fee-farm which he continued to demand in full.⁵⁴

⁵³ Bindoff i, p. 128; ibid. ii, pp. 44, 563-4; Rutland MSS ii, pp. 302, 320.

⁵⁴ Bindoff ii, pp. 607-8; ibid. i, pp. 136-7.

Gervaise Clifton, a ward successively of Wolsey, the king, and then Sir John Neville, son-in-law to the earl of Cumberland, certainly owed his election for Nottinghamshire in 1539 to these powerful connections. As Rutland's influence increased in Nottinghamshire, he became a close friend and associate to various earls of Rutland. The Manners influence in Nottinghamshire was greatly enhanced not only by Rutland's defence of Nottingham castle, but also, by the fact that Richard Manners became duchy feodary for the county in 1536. Rutland fulfilled other functions there. For example, he was involved in the collection of the loan imposed by Henry VIII on his subjects for which he was given instructions in May 1542.⁵⁵

It would be understandable, then if Rutland had some influence in the elections for Nottingham. Sir John Markham, who was elected in 1539 and possibly returned in 1542, had a high profile in the community, though his friendship with Rutland did him no harm. Just before the Parliament of 1539 Markham was granted an annuity of 40s. per annum by Rutland to be taken from the issues of his manor of Sutton upon Trent in Nottinghamshire for life. At the same time Rutland granted him an annuity of £6

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 164-6, 660-1; Rutland MSS iv, pp. 304, 314, 336; See also, the Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, xlii (London, 1848), p. 3; BCA 59 (brief excerpts from this account are in Rutland MSS iv, pp. 371-3); PRO SP1/170, fo. 106 (LP xvii, no. 312(2)).

13s. 4d. per annum during the earl's pleasure to be taken from the issues of his manor of Warsop in Nottinghamshire. Markham also profited from the purchase of various Crown lands a few years later. Sir John was earlier a close friend of Sir Thomas Lovell and the friendship and service with him and other members of the family continued with the Manners.⁵⁶

The Manners held influence in Yorkshire, owing to their vast estates, but Parliamentary elections seem to have been influenced by the Council in the North. Though little direct influence in the elections to the city of York can be seen, the Manners did have some effect on the city because of their fee-farm dispute.⁵⁷ Though Rutland had landed interests in Yorkshire and thus had a direct effect on the finances of the county, mostly the North Riding, and though he also had military connections there, these factors seemed not to translate into political influence. This may have been of his own choosing.

Rutland's influence on various counties was also felt in the various minor offices he held. These include membership on commissions for certain counties (often honorary) such as the commission for the peace. However, towards the beginning of the 1540s, Rutland found himself in the borders again.

⁵⁶ Bindoff i, pp. 166-8; ibid. ii, pp. 568-70; BCA 297; PRO E315/209, fo. 56; PRO E315/218, fo. 134; PRO E315/214, fo. 73; PRO E315/216, fo. 14; Rutland MSS, iv, pp. 264, 282 et passim.

⁵⁷ Bindoff i, p. 251.

The earl was able earlier to refuse the wardenship of the East and Middle Marches. This was because he had earlier served in the post and he had just helped against the rebels in 1536. However, as Rutland continued to purchase land from the Crown, (much of it in the North) he became increasingly financially and politically indebted to Henry VIII. It is not surprising then that in 1542 we find him back on the borders. His brother Sir Richard, who was a member of the Council of the North that same year, was not far away.

However, before Rutland's arrival, Sir Robert Bowes was sent north with instructions that Rutland would soon join him. As it stood, Bowes led an invasion into Scotland in August during or after which Rutland arrived in the North.

Rutland himself was twice in 1542 formally granted the office of warden general of the East, West, and Middle Marches towards Scotland. His first commission formally began on 9 August after which he soon joined Bowes and his second began on 2 November of that year.⁵⁸ However, Bowes and Rutland's deputy warden of the Middle Marches, Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe, with others, were taken prisoner.⁵⁹

During his few months on the borders, Rutland kept

⁵⁸ BCG 49.

⁵⁹ PROB 11/30, sig 28 -- a religious preamble is conspicuous by its total absence; SPH v, pp. 211-2; PRO SP1/171, fos 192-8 (LP, xvii, no. 540); Hamilton Papers ii, nos. 122-3 (see note below).

in constant contact with the king or the Privy Council as his numerous surviving letters testify.⁶⁰ He also kept in contact with the Council of Scotland in regard to the English prisoners. Rutland was next appointed to lead the rearward of an army which was to carry out another invasion of Scotland in October. Suffolk was temporarily given the wardenship. At this time Norfolk, who commanded the English forces against the Scots, ordered that the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire men should attend upon Rutland and Shrewsbury for the invasion. Rutland was still in the North and all the men rallied around Shrewsbury.⁶¹ A meeting between King James and Henry VIII (with Rutland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, accompanying the king) was devised but did not come to fruition.⁶²

Though on 9 November, Rutland was again granted the office of warden general, he was unable to return to the North because of his health. Rutland had grown increasingly sickly that fall and had to return to Belvoir sometime before the battle of Solway Moss, which took place on 24 November. Instead, he was briefly replaced by Hertford. Lord Lisle then replaced Hertford and Sir

⁶⁰ BL Add MS 32,647, fo. 33 et passim. (well transcribed in the Hamilton Papers ii, nos. 123, et passim.)

⁶¹ Rutland MSS i, p. 30. This was possibly an indication that Rutland's influence in Nottinghamshire had not yet clearly supplanted Shrewsbury's though at the same time it must be remembered that Shrewsbury's leadership on this occasion clearly resulted at least in part because of Rutland's absence.

⁶² BL Add MSS 32647, fos 33-9, 74-5, 96 (Hamilton Papers ii, nos. 123, 139, 146); LP, xvii, nos. 862, 886.

Richard Manners served under Lisle as captain.⁶³

The closing months in Rutland's life were relatively uneventful. He died at Belvoir in September 1543 and was buried at Bottesford church, where a fine and dignified alabaster tomb was erected over his grave.⁶⁴ A picture of the first earl of Rutland at Belvoir Castle gives him the appearance of having been a dignified, confident, and aging man, with a long grey beard. He was probably the greatest of the Manners yet to live and his achievements would not be surpassed by any member of his family for some time.

The earl's rise in prominence, based largely upon his Roos heritage and loyal service to the Crown, helped him to profit from the Dissolution of the Monasteries. This new land in turn gave new stimulus to his political, as well as economic, fortunes. However, these fortunes were now in the hands of his executors.

⁶³ PRO SP1/1037, fos 66-9 (LP xvii, no. 1037); BCG 51; PRO SP1/1045, fo. 88 (LP xvii, no. 1045); LP xvii, nos, 1046, 1048, 1051, 1057.

⁶⁴ I would like to thank Mrs. Ruth Crook for kindly arranging my visit to Bottesford church and for her hospitality to me during my trips to Belvoir. This monument may still be seen today and is in fine condition.

CONTINUITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE FLEET, 1543-53

Thomas Manners, first earl of Rutland, died on 23 September 1543, a few days shy of the seventeenth birthday of his eldest son, Henry Manners, the new earl of Rutland. The family's adept leader and friend of Henry VIII was no longer in charge and a minor was in his place. However, as the evidence indicates, even after the death of the first earl, the central and local political influence of the family did not actually diminish, and in some cases it actually strengthened.

The large degree of continuity and development in the political influence of the family from the death of the first earl until the imprisonment of the second for his support of Lady Jane Grey will be examined. This continuity and development was brought about due to the leadership of Sir Richard Manners (the young earl's uncle), through the earl's landed property, by the earl's military and political office-holding, by his influence in the counties, through his religious associations, and finally in the earl's involvement in central politics. It will also be shown that Rutland relied on a vast network of servants, family, and friends.

The new earl, himself, had been residing in nearby Croxton since at least the summer of 1540¹ and he soon

¹ Rutland MSS iv, p. 302-3.

found a new home at Belvoir Castle. However, he did not immediately assume command of the family's fortunes.

After the first earl's death, Sir Richard became the acting head of the Manners family. He had sometime during Henry's reign been created esquire of the body to the king and therefore was an influential courtier in his own right. It was at this time that Sir Richard's public prominence was greater than at any other period. He was given offices and land which would have naturally gone to the first earl had he been alive, or to the second earl had he been older. He therefore performed a useful function by filling in a vacuum at this time and also by keeping a member of the family in prominent political activity. It is worth our while to mention some of the more important of these grants of offices, some of which helped him obtain lucrative purchases of property.²

Sir Richard participated in the 1544 invasion of France and he commanded 100 light horsemen. By late 1544 he was appointed one of four esquires of the body to King Henry VIII (for which he was paid 50 marks). The next year he was involved with Hertford, future Protector Somerset, in the war against Scotland and thus became part of the infamous rough wooing. From the North, Hertford, Tunstall and Sadler had requested in a letter to Henry VIII that Sir Richard and others be sent to

² L.C. John, "Roger Manners, Elizabethan Courtier", in Huntingdon Library Quarterly xii (San Marino, California, 1948-9), p. 62. PRO E323/8 ms. 12-3.

them. They noted that Sir Richard "hathe the leading of therll of Rutlandes tenantes in thes partes...". Sir Richard was entrusted with 1,000 horsemen and he occupied the rear-ward.²

As a reward for his services, Sir Richard was granted the late college of Tong, in Shropshire, and the late chantries of Vernons and Bawkewell for £486 in January 1547. He was also involved on the commission for the survey of chantries of 1546 and 1548.³

Still acting as head of the family, Sir Richard was appointed warden of the East and Middle Marches by Somerset in the early summer of 1548 in place of Sir Robert Bowes. Through this office Sir Richard kept in close contact with Somerset.⁴

Further information concerning Sir Richard disproves Professor Lawrence Stone's argument that the earl of Rutland spent too much time in the North when chantry property was being sold, thus depriving himself of lucrative property.⁵ As will be shown later, Rutland did not go to the North in 1547 (in addition to his 1549 involve-

² LP XX, ii, nos 524 (p. 307), 533; ibid. Appendix 2 (2,vi); PRO SP1/201, fo. 210 (LP, XX, i, no. 867).

³ CPR Edw. VI i, p. 146-7; LP XXI, i, no. 770(9), see also ibid., no. 199(30); ibid., gr. 302(30); CPR Edw. VI ii, p. 135. However, the commission for the survey of chantries which he served visited Leics., Warws., & Coventry.

⁴ C. Scot. P. i, p. 129; see also BL Add MS 32657, fos. 47-8, 50-1 (Hamilton Papers xii, pp. 620-3); see also PRO PC2/2, p. 138 (APC ii, pp. 275-7); PRO PC2/4, p. 208 (APC iii, p. 200). For wages paid for this service see PRO PC 2/4, p. 208 (LP iii, p. 200).

⁵ See Stone, F&F, p. 168.

ment) as many historians have assumed. Rather, he replaced his uncle in the spring of 1549, which was after the high point of chantry speculation and he was only in the North for about three quarters of a year. Though Rutland did not directly benefit from the chantry trade his uncle and leader of the family did. Also, Sir Richard bequeathed all his goods and property to Rutland after his death in 1551 although he had by that time sold Vernons and Tong.⁶ The probable reason that Rutland did not benefit directly from lucrative grants of land at this time (as did his father under Henry VIII), was most likely because he was, due in part to his young age, considered a junior partner and was not, for example, a member of the Privy Council.

The death of the first earl produced two problems concerning the land of the Manners. First, the deceased gave numerous necessary bequests of land and money to family members and executors which had the effect of lowering the annual income of the second earl. A third of the property naturally went to his mother and his four brothers had to be maintained. Also, Rutland had five living sisters. Next, after the death of the first earl, it became necessary to attempt to balance the accounts. This involved paying off numerous debts incurred by the

⁶ BL Harl MS 897 [old fo. 14] fo. 13 (much of this information here is printed in: Diary of Henry Machyn, p. 3 (n. 314)); See BCAM 103 for a document labelled, "What is to be done after the death of Syr Richard Manners, Knyght".

first earl due to his vast purchases of land after the Dissolution. This process of trying to pay off debts led the second earl or the executors to exchange most of his Northumberland land or to sell off minor items such as wood or lead in various counties. This was done so as to limit the amount of financial and political damage and was done very effectively.

In 1547 Rutland exchanged with the Crown his ancestral home of Etal Castle, with other Northumberland property, thus ending his major landed interests in that county. Also included in the exchange were other minor Manners' lands in the Midlands and in Yorkshire. His father had earlier tried to exchange the property for Penteney Priory and therefore the second earl was probably also eager to profit from it in a similar fashion. In return the Crown cancelled debts totalling just over £2,150 and paid him about £530.⁷ This was therefore a very lucrative deal for Rutland and may have in part been possible because of the close association of the Manners with William Lord St. John, master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and lord president of the Privy Council until February 1550. He was Rutland's contact in the Privy Council and a distant relative and he even at times gave Rutland advice in how to order his finances.

⁷ This transaction was made an act of Parliament, PRO C65/155, no. 17, see also PRO E305/12/F23; PRO SP1/240, fo. 44.

In 1542, just before the first earl's death, the total per annum receipts for his property were £2,399.⁸ Though after 1543 most of Rutland's lands were in reversion (however the death of his mother and uncle in 1551 greatly changed this) his lands were assessed at a per annum value of £667 for each of the two payments for the subsidy of 1545. This compares with the average assessed income from lands, of members of the nobility, per annum of £873 for the first payment and £768 for the second. This also shows a great rise in wealth in the family since 1523 when they were assessed at only £151, or less than a fifth of the average. Further, by 1559, Rutland's lands were assessed at £1,200 per annum for both payments, or nearly twice the average per annum assessment for the nobility.⁹

By 1552, the young earl owed £1,257 in London. By 1554 this had risen to £6,000 which he owed on bonds, mortgages, and bills to London merchants.¹⁰ However, this amount of debt is surely not surprising and indicates that Rutland had a cash flow problem due to the fact that he paid off his debts to the Crown, much of his land was recently in reversion and that some of it still was. He also inherited his mother's debts and in 1553 was fined 1,000 marks for supporting Lady Jane Grey and

⁸ BCA 301. This figure excludes £676 in arrearages.

⁹ E179/69/12, 27, 51, 54, 78, 79. "Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century", pp. 15-34.

¹⁰ F&F, pp. 168-9.

he had to pay large dowries for his sisters as was mentioned. Also, in a sense, his father had it much easier because when he gained custody of his property in 1524 none, or little, of it was in reversion. The debasement of the coinage also affected his income, since money paid to him from the Crown was done so with debased currency.¹¹ Further, the fact that London merchants and friends were willing to lend Rutland money indicated that he was considered credit worthy, especially since his executors were earlier able to pay off a large portion of his debts.¹² Finally, it must be remembered that though the earl contracted more debts later in the early 1550s, yet his debts to the Crown for land purchased were now mostly paid off. That was more than his father was able to do. Debt itself then, in Rutland's case re-enforces the theme of continuity and linked him with his father.

The most potentially damaging effect of Rutland's indebtedness was that he usually put up some of his property as collateral.¹³ However, at this time, the pro-

¹¹ For evidence of this see appendix C of this thesis, pp. 263 & passim.

¹² PRO LC4/188, fos. 4, 47; PRO C54/481, ms. 16-7, 41, 51; PRO E323/8, ms. 12-3; PRO E315/327, fos. 17-8.

¹³ He also made other attempts to pay off his debts when they rose late in the reign of Edward VI. In continuing his father's policy of using his former religious property to his best interest, he stripped lead, timber, glass, etc. from some of his Rievaulx property in 1552 either for re-sale or for use on other of his properties (See appendix D of this thesis). In addition it appears that he may have sold other religious items such as valuable books or manuscripts. What has come to be called Queen Mary's Psalter (being one of the
(continued...)

perty rarely switched and if it did, the creditors merely were able to take some of the profits for a short period. This situation was to change later, however.

The amount of property which he owned, therefore did not change much throughout the later part of Henry's reign and all of Edward's, and remained at approximately one-hundred manors. The second earl therefore continued to own manors in Yorkshire, as well as in the Midlands. The Manners continued to be the primary landowners in Leicestershire and owned some property in Lincolnshire. They also owned other less significant properties in various counties. As will be shown, Rutland's Midland properties helped him augment his influence in that area and his Northern properties helped him maintain a secondary presence in the North.

The various military and political offices which Rutland held also confirm that this period was for the family a period of both continuity and development. Rutland also realized various profits from some or many of his official duties or offices of which duties Professor Stone wrote that all he received was a mounting tide

¹³(...continued)
the British Library's most prized illuminated manuscripts) was confiscated in 1553 by one of Mary's customs agents as it was making its way across the English Channel to a continental market. This was formerly in possession of one of the earl's of Rutland, most likely the second (though perhaps earlier ones also). BL Royal MS 2.B.VII, for a good facsimile with explanatory notes see Queen Mary's Psalter, intro. by Sir G. Warner (London, 1912), pp. 1-3.

of debt. Rutland quickly took on those offices which his father would have assumed and he proved to be an able and loyal servant of the Crown.

Rutland, like his uncle, Sir Richard, was involved in the 1544 invasion of France. He brought twenty-one "Northren staves", twenty archers, and sixty billmen. Rutland was under Suffolk's command and was involved in the besieging of Boulogne. The city capitulated on 14 September and four days later Henry VIII made his triumphal entry into Boulogne. On 30 September, just seven days after his nineteenth birthday, Rutland and others were knighted by Henry VIII there.¹⁴

Though with hindsight, this military excursion appears to have had dubious effects at best, since Boulogne would soon be returned to the French, yet at the time it was considered a great military success. This also was a personal success for Rutland and it was the first occasion which started to turn the young nobleman into a Tudor warlord.

On 11 July 1547 he was granted for life the offices of constable of Nottingham Castle and warden and chief justice in Eyre of Sherwood Forest and of other parks. For this he was granted forty marks yearly. At the same time he was granted the office of steward of the manors

¹⁴ PRO SP1/185, fos. 2, 20, 27, 47 (LP XIX, i, no. 275); Early Tudor England, p. 409; PRO SP1/192, fo. 75 (LP XIX, ii, no. 223); BL Cotton MS Claudius ciii, fo. 138.

or lordships of Mansfield, Bolsover, and Horseley. In 1519, his father had been appointed to the same. Though for almost the next two years the records for his official life are very limited, in the spring of 1549, he was commissioned to perform his first major military office, an office similar to that held by his Roos ancestors, which his father held in 1522 and again in 1542, and in which he was replacing his uncle.¹⁵

As is well known, Scotland was Somerset's main foreign concern. He was determined to finish and to win Henry VIII's war against Scotland. His aim was to impose on Scotland the Treaty of Greenwich and thereby to unite the two nations by enforcing the marriage between Edward VI and the infant Mary Stuart. He also tried to assert Edward I's claims to Scotland.

In order to bring this about, Somerset greatly expanded and implemented Henry VIII's policy of placing English garrisons in Scotland. Somerset's plan was initiated on a grand scale with the invasion of Scotland in September 1547 and the English victory at the battle of Pinkie. After Somerset left the borders in September 1547, William, Lord Grey of Wilton was made king's lieutenant and was left in charge of the forces occupying Scotland. In April 1548 he seized and fortified Haddington, a fort which was later to involve Rutland. That

¹⁵ GEC xi, pp. 253-4; PRO C66\806, m. 26 (CPR Edw. VI, i, pp. 231); CPR Edw. VI i, p. 306.

summer Shrewsbury took over the lieutenancy from Grey and reoccupied, revictualled, and refortified Haddington, but he too had soon to leave. Rutland was not involved in the Scottish campaign until 1549 despite numerous attempts by historians to link him with the 1547 involvement.¹⁶

On 1 May 1549 Rutland was appointed warden of the East and Middle Marches. In addition he served as a lieutenant of the North during his initial invasion into Scotland, a very high office for such a young nobleman. Also in 1549, William Lord Dacre replaced the temporarily disgraced Lord Wharton as warden of the West Marches. On 9 May 1549 Sir James Croft sent a letter of fatherly advice, from Haddington, writing that Rutland went to "the borders to winne honour as I truste whereof noman shalbe gladder then I".¹⁷

¹⁶ Tudor England, pp. 201-2; See also, Bush, The Government Policy of Protector Somerset (London, 1975), pp. 7-39 and The Young King, pp. 253-304. GEC vi, p. 184; G.W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility (Sussex, 1985), pp. 125, 171-3; See conflicting and additional info. in Life of Lord Grey of Wilton, Camden Society xl (London, 1847), pp. 16, 45. There is no evidence in the primary sources that Rutland was also involved in the Scottish campaign of 1547. He was not, for example, mentioned in William Patten's Expedicion Into Scotland... (London, 1548[/9]). Numerous authorities appear to have followed Collins' 1709 edition in misquoting the historian Sir John Hayward in his work, The Life of King Edward VI (1630), pp. 51-2 and have thus placed Rutland in both the 1547 and 1549 involvement.

¹⁷ CPR Edw. VI ii, p. 402; PRO SP15/3, no. 27 (CSPD Addenda 1547-65, p. 396); Lit. Remains, p. 225, apparently the wardenship briefly descended to the Lord Gray between Sir Richard and Rutland; see also -- H. Pease, The Lord Wardens of the Marches of Scotland and
(continued...)

Somerset and the Council considered Rutland appropriate for the office because of his "nobylyte of bludd, his good corage and good wyll to serve...". but what is also interesting is that he was thought a "mete personage" due to "thestimacion and fauour thatt he is hadd in amonges the multitude uppon those frontyars...". This last point emphasized the fact that Rutland was not just a Midlands nobleman and it alluded to the fact that his family held and continued to hold numerous posts in the North, that until recently they had held major property interests in Northumberland and continued to hold vast estates in Yorkshire, and that they still had numerous personal connections in the North. However, the earl was also considered "yett butt of yong yeres, and nott so expert nor exercised in the warres as we wold have wisshed..." and he was appointed a council, which was "tassist and ayde hym...".¹⁸

Various of Rutland's duties and responsibilities as warden were made plain in his instructions from the Privy Council. But further actions and responsibilities of the young nobleman can be deduced from various sources. A detailed study of Rutland's involvement in the North

¹⁷(...continued)

England (London, 1913), pp. 199-201; BCL ii, fos. 6-37, quotation from fo. 35 (Rutland MSS i, pp. 33-5). Rutland was usually referred to as lord warden, but in the early stages (at least) also as lieutenant in the North. See for other examples, BCL ii, fos. 37 & passim.

¹⁸ PRO SP15/3, nos. 27-8 (CSPD Addenda 1547-65, pp. 396-7).

indicates that Rutland was an able warden, as well as lieutenant in the North, and that he was loyal to the powers that were at the time. A few examples can be given to illustrate this.

Rutland was to have the "cheif reule order and governance of our garrysons and menne of warre uppon those frontyers". Rutland certainly took this responsibility seriously and he did achieve favourable results (that is, from the English perspective) as his initial invasion of Scotland and his involvement with Haddington show.¹⁹

On 24 May, Rutland had in his command, excluding those troops in the garrisons which were under siege, a total of 5,450 men. Also, ambitious plans were developed for the summer campaign and troops, mostly drafted from the northern counties, were ordered to Berwick in late May. Shrewsbury, no stranger to the borders, who was also a friend, ally, and future relative of Rutland, furthered the reorganization of the northern border command when the Privy Council appointed him president of the Council of the North.²⁰

On 1 June, Rutland, who was now based at Berwick, marched on Jedburgh with Sir Thomas Holcroft and his army with the goal of confronting Scottish forces. However, they marched in unopposed and found Jedburgh evacuated.

¹⁹ PRO SP/3, no. 28 (CSP Addenda 1547-65, p. 397).

²⁰ The Young King, p. 297.

The next day they burned and wasted Hundalee which in part served as a storage depot for Scottish goods. They next went to Ferniehirst but they spared it because "the keys whereof wer the night before delivered unto my lord...". But they burned Huntill and Bonjedward, and Rutland sent Leke, Harrington, and Cotton to destroy Ancrum Bridge. The next day they all departed to Wark "without anie losse or impechement" in order to replenish their food supplies. In his Journal, Edward VI noted briefly of Rutland's exploits that after entering Scotland he "burnt divers villages, and toke moche pray". By 4 June, Rutland had returned to Berwick and he remained there until the end of the month.²¹

However, at about this time, rebellions in England were growing at an alarming rate. By 30 June 1549 letters were sent out informing various noblemen and knights that they were to come with their men to the borders by 10 August. Then on 3 July the earl of Warwick was appointed to be the king's lieutenant in Scotland in order to lead a massive invasion into Scotland which would parallel Somerset's 1547 triumph at Pinkie. It was hoped that he would accomplish what Shrewsbury had been unable to do in 1548. This commission, however, was revoked on 9 August 1549 and Warwick was sent to Norfolk in order to quell the rebellion. The rebellion in

²¹ S. Haynes, State Papers (London, 1740), pp. 109-10; Lit. Remains ii, p. 225; Rutland MSS, iv, p. 364.

England, therefore drained from the English forces in Scotland men, munitions, and the necessary finances.²²

Haddington by this time had become the main English garrison. Captain Thomas Palmer wrote of it: "'kepe that and ye shall do what ye wyll in Skotland; lyese that and ye put all the rest in hassard.'" ²³

However, the victualling of Haddington had become a strenuous, expensive, and difficult matter. Though other forts were being abandoned, a determined effort was made at least to hold onto Haddington. In the summer of 1549 Sir Thomas Holcroft sent a gloomy letter to Somerset concerning the state of the forces and conditions at Haddington.²⁴

On Tuesday, 17 September 1549, Thomas Fisher wrote an enlightening letter to William Cecil. He informed Cecil of "the evell taken towne of Haddington". Rutland had commanded him not to abandon the "towne without the doing of other service before" although some commissioners (whose names we are not sure of) with him at Innerwick, approximately fifteen miles from Haddington, were in much confusion about what these "services", if any, should be. It was resolved either to relieve the town, though they could only give them three days worth of victuals, or to take as many carriages with them to

²² CSPD Addenda, 1547-65, p. 400; PRO E315/215-6

²³ G.W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility (Sussex, 1985), p. 125.

²⁴ The Young King, pp. 289-299.

Haddington and to bring out the men and as many weapons and supplies as possible.²⁵

Fisher wrote that the latter:

cannot be don without gret likelyhod and hassard of battell, for the Frenche arrastronge in the feld as we be and stronger, and lye encamped most for their advantage not farr from the passage.

He also said the French had been joined by about 2,000 Scots in the last two days and that this number was growing.²⁶

Also Rutland's total force "of horsemen and fotemen tag and rag of all sortes..." were, according to him, 3,500 and declining daily, while he wrote that Rutland claimed the total to be from 6,000 to 7,000 men. The historian John Stow mentioned that Rutland went to Haddington with "3,000 Almaines and as many borderers". Fisher added in his letter that the English forces were to march to Haddington that evening. As it turned out Rutland, on Somerset's command, brought out the ordnance, men, and supplies, and razed the fortifications.²⁷

Fisher's worst fears were not realized and it is apparent that Rutland was met with only a token resistance and that he completed his task in only a few days.

²⁵ PRO SP50/5, no. 23, fos. 49-50 (C. Scot. P. i, no. 356).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.; J. Stow, The Annales of England (London, 1592), p. 1004; Rutland MSS iv, p. 365; The Young King, p. 299; Stow incorrectly stated that Rutland's force arrived on 20 Sept. & Jordan also incorrectly wrote that Rutland's mission was accomplished between 14 & 17 Sept.

By 20 September, Rutland was at the camp at Dunglass and he arrived in Berwick two days later.²⁸ Rutland still continued to hold the office of warden until the beginning of February 1550 and he was involved in various administrative and military duties.²⁹

Between October and December 1549, Rutland was under constant threat from either a Scottish invasion into England or a Scottish attempt against an English fort. In response, sometime before 1 November, Rutland and his men well furnished the English forts and burned and destroyed everything between the forts of Dunglass and Lauder and the enemy. According to Rutland, this cut off valuable supply lines for the Scots and had a major effect on them so that they made attempts to sue for peace. However, an encounter finally took place in January, with Rutland's forces overcoming the Scots. Rutland took many prisoners. Robert Constable wrote to Rutland on 18 January 1550, days before his return to London:

all your frendes here reyoises in your
prosperous fortune agaynst the Scottes in this
newe yere. The newes cam noe soner to the
Courte butt they wer burted abroad, greatly to
your honer.³⁰

During this time, Rutland wrote to St. John of his

²⁸ Stow, Annales (1592), p. 1004; Rutland MSS iv, pp. 364-6.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. i, pp. 46-7; HMC, Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers (JP7) ii, Talbot Papers in the College of Arms, ed. G.R. Batho (London, 1971), B, fo. 143 (pp. 29-30); Rutland MSS i, p. 55.

intense desire to be relieved of his duties on the borders. He complained of personal debt and that his mother was in ill health and "not like long to lyve...". Later, Rutland also petitioned Warwick and he seemed to receive a somewhat hopeful letter from him by 22 November. Sir Richard Cotton informed Rutland on 5 January 1550 that the Council was busy trying to choose a new lord warden. Then at Alnwick, on 30 January, he received payment of conduct money to London. He was to leave Newcastle on 3 February and arrive in London nearly a fortnight later. Sir Robert Bowes immediately replaced him.³¹

These examples and details show then that Rutland was an able commander and servant of the Crown. In most circumstances he completed the job which he was told to do. However, by 1551 all the English garrisons in Scotland had been abandoned. The failure of the Scottish campaign itself cannot be placed on the shoulders of loyal and effective servants of the Crown. As G. W. Bernard has well argued in regard to Shrewsbury's 1548 involvement in the borders, Somerset was the architect and driving force of the whole Scottish campaign and the campaign was doomed to failure from the start. The blame for the failure of the whole campaign therefore rests

³¹ BCL i, fos. 36, 47 (Rutland MSS iv, pp. 197, 200); Rutland MSS iv, pp. 366, 351; BCL ii, fos. 115, 138, 157, 182-3 (Rutland MSS i, pp. 45, 48, 50-1, 54. PRO CP2/3, p. 63 (APC ii, p. 393)).

with Somerset.³²

The facts regarding Rutland's involvement in the North during this time not only further illustrate Bernard's thesis, but they also highlight the degree of continuity and development during this time in the political life of the earl. Rutland was able to hold an office which was more anciently held by some of his Roos ancestors, and more recently occupied by both his father and uncle. In addition, Rutland was able personally to develop a reputation as a Tudor war-lord.

- - - - -

For the next few years, Rutland held various offices and appointments. In December 1550 Rutland, with numerous other men, including some of his servants and friends was commissioned to collect the third payment of relief granted by the 1547 Parliament in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire (Kesteven), Nottinghamshire (for 1550 and 1551), and Rutland. On 14 April 1551 he became joint lord-lieutenant of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire with Lord Admiral Clinton, a firm earl of Warwick supporter. In December 1551 he, with men including, Sir John Byron

³² G.W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility, (Sussex, 1985), pp. 126-7.

(one of his friends) and Sir Gervase Clifton (one of his servants), was on the Nottinghamshire commission, to enquire into the enhancing of food prices. In June 1552 Rutland and the rest of the commissioners appointed for the survey of church goods in Nottinghamshire were given instructions. The other commissioners included, along with Sir Gervase Clifton, another servant of Rutland's, George Lascelles. He and the rest of his men were re-appointed in March 1553. What is interesting in these commissions is that Rutland was able to promote friends and servants on a large scale.³³

Earlier, on 16 May 1552, he was re-appointed as lord-lieutenant but this time the lord admiral was given Lincolnshire and Rutland alone was made lieutenant of Nottinghamshire. It was in this office that he became involved in his most serious personal and political crisis of which more will be stated later.³⁴

A further indication that the political influence of the Mannors at this time was undergoing a large degree of

³³ CPR Edw. VI v, pp. 355-7, 362; PRO PC2/4, pp. 272-3 (APC iii, p. 259). Note that G.S. Thompson, in her book, Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1923), p. 32, mistakenly assumed that Rutland and the lord admiral were lieutenants of only one county each when in fact they were joint lieutenants of both. CPR Edw. VI iv, p. 141; Rutland MSS i, pp. 57-8; for detailed instructions see Fuller's Church History book vii, sect. 2 (London, 1655), pp. 417-9 (Rutland MSS i, p. 57 gives an incorrect reference to this. CPR Edw. VI iv, p. 395; ibid. v, p. 415).

³⁴ PRO PC2/4, p. 554 (APC iv, pp. 49-50). Rutland was re-appointed next year, PRO PC2/4, p. 722 (APC iv, p. 277).

continuity and development was the family's influence in the counties. A revealing letter, written by William Horsley to Rutland on 23 December 1547, described Rutland's local political situation well. It revealed that Rutland was conscientiously looking for new offices and lands. Probably because of Rutland's earlier interest, Horsley indicated further that Henry Grey, third marquis of Dorset (created duke of Suffolk in 1551), and Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon ruled Leicestershire. Lady Suffolk (widow of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk) was the most influential in Lincolnshire. Horsley indicated that if Lady Suffolk had all of Lincolnshire, this would then leave Rutland with Nottinghamshire.³⁵ The Brandons had close connections with the Manners, and therefore they were not in fierce competition with each other. Even by 1552 Lady Suffolk had a room in Rutland's manor of the Eagle.³⁶ However, we need directly to examine Rutland's influence in various counties in order to get more detail.³⁷

What is most striking in regard to Rutland's power of patronage in the elections of MPs is the high degree of continuity in the influence of the Manners family throughout this period. Though Rutland was a ward of his mother, and thus a minor during the 1545 and 1547 elec-

³⁵ Year not certain, BCL ii, fo. 4 (Rutland MSS i, pp. 32-3).

³⁶ Rutland MSS ii, p. 333.

³⁷ Much of the following few paragraphs is heavily dependant on Bindoff i-iii.

tions, the results of the family influence were not much different from those after he came of age before the 1553 elections. However, this is not surprising if one remembers that his uncle was head of the family at this time. As has been shown, his various land grants and grants of high office attest to that. In Rutland's case, his minority did not lessen to a great extent his influence in the counties. In fact, it may have actually been an advantage for Rutland to have an older and more experienced relative take over the affairs of the family after his father's death. Had Rutland been twenty-one or twenty-two at his father's death, he would not have been able to rely on Sir Richard nearly as much.

Investigations have been made into Rutland's possible influence on the election of MPs for the Parliaments of 1545, 1547, and March 1553 for six counties.³⁸ These counties are: Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, and Yorkshire. It is probable that the Manners family was able to influence in some way the outcomes of about 21 of 103 known elections to the above mentioned counties during this time. The influence rate was more or less consistent throughout the three elections though the last one witnessed slightly more influence by the family.

It appears that the Manners family had some degree

³⁸ See appendix B, chart 1 of this thesis for Rutland's probable influence on certain named individuals elected as MPs to these Parliaments. Chart 2, gives county totals.

of influence on every MP elected to Parliament from the tiny county of Rutland. Nottinghamshire is next and there the Manners were able to influence 7 out of 12 known elections. Rutland's influence strengthened in Nottinghamshire owing in part to Shrewsbury's inability to spend much time in Nottinghamshire from 1549, because of his appointment as president of the Council of the North.³⁹ In Lincolnshire, Rutland was able to influence to some degree 6 out of the known 36 elections. This is followed by Northumberland with 1 in 10 and Yorkshire where it appears that the family was able to influence the selection of 1 MP out of 30. It is interesting to note that in the county in which Rutland had his main seat, Leicestershire, the family was not able (or willing) to exert any measurable influence on county or borough elections.

Another picture of Rutland's influence in the various counties can be drawn from JP information.⁴⁰ In total a conservative count of those JPs (excluding the

³⁹ Black, "Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1529-1555 (Univ. of London unpub. Ph.D. thesis, 1966), p. 261.

⁴⁰ See appendix B, chart 3 of this thesis for Rutland's probable influence on the selection of JPs by county. Besides those references mentioned in chart 3, the following sources for JPs have been consulted: PRO KB9/556-583, PRO E372/388-392, PRO E137. Note: No lists of JPs in PRO E371/347-373 (Originalia Rolls) for the reign of Edward VI can be found which could add to the information in the Patent Rolls. See Amanda Bevan, "JPs, 1509-1547: an Additional Source", in BIHR lviii (London, 1985), pp. 242-8.

big names who were on the lists, but did not actually perform the office of JP), as can be found in the complete lists of JPs in the patent rolls who were recipients of the earl's patronage, totals 19 for the six counties in 1543-5 (if one looks at just one complete list per county and none could be found for Northumberland at this time) and during 1547 the total is 21 (including Northumberland). This shows an amazing degree of continuity throughout this period.

On closer examination it can be shown that his influence was paramount in Rutland and Nottinghamshire. In Nottinghamshire it appears that Rutland influenced 3 of the 23 JPs selected in 1545. In 1547 this rose to 6 of 18. In the county of Rutland it looks as though he influenced, in 1545, 4 out of the 15 selected and in 1547 he had some influence on 3 out of 16. There was no full list of JPs selected for Northumberland in 1545 but for 1547 Rutland was influential in 2 of the 21 selected. In Leicestershire the figures are 2 out of 24 for 1545 and 1 out of 23 for 1547. In both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Rutland was able to have an influence on the JPs of both counties of a ratio of a little better than 1 in 20 for both years.

It can be seen then, that the picture that can be drawn from the information on JPs is much less complete than that which can be drawn from the MPs. Nevertheless, certain generalities can be given. Again, as with the

influence of the family in regard to elections of MPs, the death of the first earl seems to have had little effect. The information given on JPs and MPs also reveals a modest, political influence in the North. However, one is not able to tell how much influence Rutland could have had on the selection of JPs and MPs when he was most militarily involved in the North, in 1549, because no complete lists of JPs in the North have been found and there was no election to Parliament at this time. Also, a concentration of influence in Nottinghamshire and Rutland is obvious. The evidence suggests that long before the second earl consciously tried to augment his influence in Nottinghamshire, the family in effect had already had a strong presence.

Land also had an effect on the amount of political influence Rutland wielded. Over half of the property which Rutland owned was in the north-east Midlands and it was in this general area that he had his major power base. Also, a large proportion of his land was in Yorkshire and it is not coincidental that he also had an influence, though of a secondary nature, in the North. Yet there were factors beyond land, office-holding, and local politics which affected this part of the political life of the young earl.

- - - - -

Just as the first earl was drawn into Henry's religious policy, the second earl too found himself supporting the religious settlement of his sovereign lord, Edward VI. In the religious realm one will be able to see not only continuity from the associations his father had, but one will also see that Rutland was drawn even further into the Protestant fold than had been his father.

A survey of his servants during this period, and of the JPs and MPs whom he influenced, gives one an imperfect though general idea of the possible religious orientation of many of the men with whom Rutland promoted and was associated. Though religious orientation is always very difficult to ascertain, of those of whom religious connections can be determined with any degree of reliability, it appears that most were Protestants, had strong Protestant connections, or were moderates.

Rutland generally, therefore, favoured Protestants or those not hostile to Protestantism. That he did actually try to promote them can not only be witnessed by the JP and MP information discussed above, but by the fact that about one-third of his known major servants and JP and MP clients were actually recipients of Crown leases. Though Rutland certainly was not a direct influence in all of these cases, the evidence, when this information is combined with what we already know of

Rutland's patronage, makes it appear that he was a force.⁴¹

However, Rutland did not, in every case, promote Protestants or those with strong Protestant connections. There are a few exceptions including Anthony Colly who was a known Catholic and a Rutland client.⁴² Rutland even sided with a group of Catholics in Parliament in February 1551, for unknown reasons, when he voted against a controversial bill which allowed priests to marry.⁴³ Though Rutland had numerous Protestant links throughout Edward's reign, yet, he at times befriended Catholics (and even in this one instance promoted Catholic interests) when the need or desire arose.

There is enough evidence to give us a convincing case that during this time Rutland became more and more drawn towards more radical or reforming Protestant leaders as Edward's reign progressed. In a very interesting letter written on 29 March 1550 from London, Anthony Williams, Rutland's auditor, wrote to his master at the Eagle that in accordance with his request he was

⁴¹ PRO E310/1-7; For index see Appendix to the 49th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, no. 3, pp. 213-360.

⁴² PRO PROB 11/57, sig 8; Camden Miscellany ix(3), p. 37; Rutland MSS iv, pp. 319, 329, 356-7, 362; PRO SP1/184, fo. 182; CPR Edw. VI v, p. 357.

⁴³ LJ i, pp. 400-1; See W. Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England i (London, 1806), p. 584. Cobbett quoted Bishop Burnett as saying "there was no law that passed in this reign more contradicted and censured than this".

sending Latimer's last sermon.⁴⁴ This is, of course, a reference to the fiery Protestant preacher, Hugh Latimer. That Williams indicated that Rutland actually desired a copy is a good indication that Rutland at the least intended to read the work. Also, the fact that Rutland apparently wanted the latest sermon indicated that he may have read some of Latimer's earlier ones, though this is speculation. It must also be remembered that Latimer's home was in nearby Lincolnshire.

The sermon referred to, which was in two parts, was almost certainly Latimer's last sermon before King Edward in Lent of 1550. It was entitled Videte et Cavete ab Avaritia and besides warning of the evils of covetousness, it contained a short section in which he refuted the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation.⁴⁵ Views on Transubstantiation similar to those present in Latimer's sermon appeared months later, at the end of 1551, at a meeting first in Sir William Cecil's house, and next at Sir Richard Morison's in which the doctrine was debated. Rutland was in attendance at the later meeting and the circumstance of the debates appears to have resulted from the interrogations by Sir John Cheke of Dr. John Feckenham. Other Protestants in attendance at the second conference were Cecil, Robert Horn, dean of Durhan, David Whitehead, tutor to the duke of Suffolk, Edmund Grindal,

⁴⁴ BCL ii, pp. 190-1 (Rutland MSS i, p. 55).

⁴⁵ H. Latimer, Sermons, ed. for Parker Society by Rev. G.E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 239-81.

future archbishop of Canterbury, and Northampton.⁴⁶

Rutland himself had some connections with Cheke and the Cambridge reformers (which may help explain his presence at the second conference) in that his brothers John and Thomas matriculated from St. John's Cambridge in 1549, which a few years earlier had been the centre of Cheke's Athenians. Roger, another brother, was admitted to Corpus Christi Cambridge in 1550.⁴⁷

Rutland attended the debate as an auditor and the transcript of the debate leaves us no evidence that Rutland vocally took part nor what his thoughts may have been at the time.⁴⁸ However, it is possible that Rutland did take part in some limited manner (at least one other auditor, the marquis of Northampton, did). It also may not be coincidental that Rutland married, early in 1560, Bridget, the widow of the Protestant ambassador, Sir Richard Morison.⁴⁹ A few months after this debate Rutland voted for the bill in Parliament dealing with uniformity of service indicating a growing association with

⁴⁶ Corpus Christi College MS 102, pp. 253-266 (For a translation see J. Strype, Life of Sir John Cheke (Oxford, 1821), pp. 69-86).

⁴⁷ Alumni Cantabrigienses I, iii (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 134-5; These brothers were granted a licence in April 1551 to travel abroad with their tutor John Whiting. BL Royal MS 18c 24, fo. 82.

⁴⁸ Corpus Christi College MS 102, pp. 259-266. Note: Later under Mary Cheke was charged with heresy and sent to the Tower. Mary sent Feckenham to him & Cheke later recanted, DNB iv, p. 181. The DNB incorrectly states that the two conferences were held in 1552.

⁴⁹ Morison, an opinionated Protestant, was most known for being an ambassador to the Emperor.

and support of Protestantism.⁵⁰ It is well known that the debate itself was very influential not only on this religious settlement, but also on that of Elizabeth's.

Even though the evidence left to the historian is not sufficient enough to indicate Rutland's true religious beliefs⁵¹, this debate was one of the more major incidences which for the time, at least, appears to have drawn him into closer association with defenders of the Edwardian religious settlement. Rutland became even more closely associated with leading Protestants as the reign developed. It was these associations which helped to draw Rutland into the 1553 Lady Jane Grey affair. And had the Lady Jane affair been successful, this most likely would have greatly heightened Rutland's political future. It is to this area of mid-Tudor high politics that one must now turn.

Again can be seen the large degree of continuity between the careers of the two earls and also the development in the high political life of the second earl. Rutland's first major association with Lisle occurred on his attachment to Lisle's embassy to France for the negotiation of the Treaty of Camp in 1546. The negotiators concluded that, among other things, for

⁵⁰ LJ i, pp. 420-1.

⁵¹ I thank Professor Conrad Russell for his enlightening comments and probing questions (during the reading of an earlier version of this chapter at the Tudor and Stuart seminar, IHR), which, combined with further research, eventually led me to this conclusion.

various annuities paid to the English, the French were to have Boulogne back on Michaelmas, 1554. Rutland was rewarded 100 marks for his expenses. Then on 1 August Rutland was one of a handful of English noblemen to witness the oath of Francis I of France to this treaty.⁵²

He next appeared as one of the mourners at Henry VIII's funeral on 16 February 1547. He was one of two bearers of the king's sword, the other being St. John.⁵³

On 20 February Rutland bore the spurs for the coronation of Edward VI, a position of high honour. Later a banquet was prepared in which Rutland bore the basins "for wasshinge" after the first course of the dinner. On Sunday, 27 February, Rutland was a participant in a joust which was held at the "palles". After this joust they had a "ryght goodly and sumptuous supper" at the Goat in Cheapside⁵⁴ (a pub which Rutland frequented when in London). This was the last official duty he performed before he came of age.

Rutland's next major connection with Court politics occurred with the trial of Lord Admiral Seymour in 1549. This actually put Rutland in a temporarily uncomfortable, though ultimately advantageous position. By giving

⁵² Mackie, p. 410; PRO SP1/221, fo. 142 (LP XXI, i, no. 1235); PRO E315/255, fo. 88 (LP XXI, ii, no. 775); PRO E30/1045 (LP XXI, i, no. 1394).

⁵³ Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials II, ii (Oxford, 1822), pp. 289-310.

⁵⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 260 no. 3, fos. 64-5; ibid. 162 no. 46, fo. 223; ibid. 260 no. 3, fos. 57, 64; Strype, Memorials of Cranmer i (Oxford, 1840), pp. 202-7; BL Harl MS 169 no. 12, fos. 45-6; BL Egerton MS 3026, fos. 29-32.

evidence against the lord admiral, Rutland not only was supporting the lord admiral's rival, his brother the protector, but he also was able to give tacit support to a plan which was earlier devised by Warwick in 1547. Early, after Henry VIII's death, the earl of Warwick schemed to weaken the power of the protector by causing friction between him and his brother. Rutland's involvement therefore came at the tail end of this scheme and may not have been a conscious effort on his part.⁵⁵

The lord admiral was arrested on 17 January 1549 and charged with thirty-three articles of high treason. The occasion for his arrest had been rumours of a scheme of the lord admiral's to marry the Princess Elizabeth and also his courting of Wriothesley's support for a plot to overthrow the protector.⁵⁶

Rutland revealed to the Privy Council in January 1549 the details of a conversation he earlier had with the lord admiral. According to Rutland, he and the lord admiral were riding "to gither from my mothers towardes my Lord Marques Dorsettes house in the later end of this last summer". Rutland further declared:

Then he enquired of me thestate of my lyving and also how I was frended in my country. I declared to him suche friendes as I had and he lykewise declared to me a great nomber of his friendes and also how he was banded in their countrees saying further he thought me to be so frended in my country as I was hable inough to

⁵⁵ For details of Warwick's involvement see Tudor England, pp. 200-1.

⁵⁶ See Ibid., p. 201.

matche with my lorde of Shrewesbury. I said I could not tell; howbeit, I thought my lord would do me no wrong.⁵⁷

The "country" Rutland mentioned was, of course, Nottinghamshire and this conversation reveals Rutland's growing influence there. It also reveals the growing desperation of the lord admiral to court leading members of the nobility, Rutland being one of them. The lord admiral's desperation can even be more vividly seen in his next advice to Rutland. He advised Rutland to gain the favour of Nottinghamshire yeomen "and somtymes dyning lyke a good fellow in one of their houses" and to mistrust the gentry. Rutland also stated that the lord admiral further asked him if he would support him if he suggested to the Privy Council that the protectorate be dissolved and that Edward VI should rule on his own. We do not have Rutland's answer to this question.⁵⁸

Rutland also tried to impress to the Privy Council that he was not a traitor to the lord admiral. He perhaps tried not to forget that after all was said and done, the lord admiral was Somerset's brother. Rutland mentioned that in a later meeting with him "I willed him to be ware whom he trusted".⁵⁹ Perhaps even more important was the fact that throughout this ordeal Rutland was able to remain on good terms both with Somerset and with

⁵⁷ PRO SP 10/6, no. 12 (Haynes, State Papers, pp. 81-2).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Warwick. This was to prove vital.

It was Somerset's favour and influence that, only a few months later, helped Rutland obtain the grant of the office of warden of the East and Middle Marches.⁶⁰ From his letters to the Privy Council during the initial phase of the Scottish expedition it was apparent that Rutland remained on relatively good terms with Somerset. Rutland himself was not even aware of the coup d'état later in the year until after the Privy Council informed him of the situation and told him not to obey any of Somerset's orders. In fact, a letter of Rutland's to the Privy Council crossed in the mail with the above and in it he assumed that Somerset was still in power. As cautious as ever, Rutland obeyed the Privy Council and awaited further orders.⁶¹ This cautiousness and obedience to the powers that were was a personality trait that he had inherited or learned from his father.

Rutland had further connections with Somerset through various contacts with servants. Some of Rutland's servants who were actually loyal to him found it easy to migrate to Somerset. Good examples of these include the infamous Sir Richard Whalley and Sir Michael Stanhope.

Further, after Somerset's fall, Rutland kept in

⁶⁰ Stone wrote that Rutland was "shipped off to the north out of harm's way without any damage to his career", *F&F*, p. 168.

⁶¹ BCL&PS, fos 14-35 (*Rutland MSS* iv, pp. 191-7).

close contact with Warwick especially when Rutland was in the North and a few of these contacts involved servants. Among the correspondences was one from Warwick to Rutland in which Warwick complained that one of his servants, John Rotham, had been "clearly dismyssed" from the office of constable in Alnwick by the suggestion of Sir Francis Leke. Warwick asked him to get him re-appointed. This letter was written on 27 September 1549, just days before Somerset's fall.⁶² Though Sir Francis Leke was one of Rutland's uncles, he still owed (at this time at least) some of his advancement to Somerset. This letter by Warwick may have been an early slight on Somerset's influence in the North, or at least an early Warwick power bid.

However, a few months after Rutland returned from Scotland, his next brush with high politics occurred in the form of a mission to France. On 17 April 1550 Rutland, with the earls of Bath and Worcester, Viscount Hereford, and Lord Fitzwalter, was appointed to help receive the ambassadors and noblemen from France.⁶³ They received the French hostages (who were three noblemen of high rank) when the treaty which followed the loss of Boulogne was concluded. Considering his involvement with

⁶² BCL ii, fo. 106 (Rutland MSS i, p. 44). However, Warwick later had a falling out with Rithom when he realized that Rithom had put his man, John Leke in prison. Rithom had also accused Sir Francis Leke, Rutland and others of being traitors. Rutland sent him to York to be examined by the Council there.

⁶³ PRO PC2/3, p. 145 (APC iii, p. 431).

the Treaty of Camp in 1546, it is not unusual that he was put on this commission. On 22 June, the Privy Council authorized him to have £525 of his debt to the Crown remitted "for his good service".⁶⁴

By this time Rutland had clearly turned his back on Somerset. This is illustrated clearly in a bizarre episode surrounding Sir Richard Whalley who was initiating an inept attempt to restore Somerset to power. Among those he tried to solicit towards this end was his former master, Rutland. This was to prove a grave error since Rutland later testified against him on 16 February 1551. Rutland claimed that Whalley was trying to determine whether he supported Warwick or Somerset. He further claimed that he mentioned to Whalley that he did not like what Whalley was saying. Whalley claimed innocence, was fined and released, though he was arrested again in the autumn of 1551 when Warwick was finally able to destroy Somerset.⁶⁵ This episode, however, shows graphically

⁶⁴ DN3 xii, p. 935; PC2/4, p. 56 (APC iv, p. 53); note that Stone incorrectly wrote of Rutland's office holding at this time: "the only financial result of his services was a mounting tide of debt". F&F, p. 168.

⁶⁵ See The Threshold of Power, pp. 79-80 for a full account of the matter. Sir Francis Leke, who had overheard the conversation only stated in his master's defense that Whalley had "'prattled very much'", but refused to go into details.

Sometime after Somerset's final fall, as lieutenant of Nottinghamshire Rutland ended up questioning persons close to Whalley including Richard Eden, an alchemist. Further, two of Rutland's servants, Sir John Chaworth and Giles Bigges were on a commission to examine Whalley's goods and letters at his house at Welbeck, Nottinghamshire. Rutland discovered that Whalley had
(continued...)

that Rutland was now giving his full support to Warwick, even to the point of turning his back against someone to whom he had earlier shown his unwavering loyalty.

From May to August 1551 Rutland was absent as lord in attendance on the embassy to France. The news of the English delegation was duly relayed by Simon Renard to the Emperor. It was led by the marquis of Northampton, and Northumberland's eldest son, John Lord Lisle, also attended. This was an embassy to Henry II to present him with the insignia of the Order of the Garter.⁶⁶ Rutland renewed his associations with Northampton a few months later when he and Northampton attended the debate on the Eucharist. However, the Northumberland connection is our growing concern.

Warwick, future duke of Northumberland, continued to gain Rutland's support as could be seen early in 1551. However, on 20 December 1550 Edward VI wrote in his Journal that thirteen noblemen were appointed to keep bands of horsemen. This was partly in response to Warwick's mistrust of normal conscript levies. He chose instead to experiment with a small standing army headed by trusted men, most of whom were members of the nobil-

⁶⁵(...continued)
earlier been able to persuade Eden to come to work for him for the purpose of trying to produce gold (apparently to help fund a return to power by Somerset). See: PRO SP46/2, fos 164-9 & PRO SP46/8, fos 168-9.
⁶⁶ DNB iii, p. 935; Collins's Peerage of England (1812) i, p. 470; CSPS 1550-2, pp. 292-3, 300, 302; see also p. 299.

ity. However, at this time Rutland was not among them.⁶⁷

In February 1551 the Privy Council debated this idea (in order to embody the king's will in a proper Council resolution) and it was agreed upon to have a number of men-at-arms "as well for the suertie of his Majesties parson as for the staie of the unquiet subjectes, and for other services in all eventes". On 9 April of the same year Edward again noted in his Journal that Rutland replaced Lord Wentworth and that Rutland would have command of fifty horsemen.⁶⁸ This was most likely in reward for his services as warden of the East and Middle Marches. He received payments of £250 per a quarter of a year though the whole idea was abandoned in 1552. New documentary evidence in Belvoir Castle can now for the first time give enough information to help us reconstruct the nature, structure and function of these bands of men-at-arms.⁶⁹

In October 1551 Rutland attended the ceremony in which Warwick was created duke of Northumberland and he bore "the capp with crownall or coronett". Then a few weeks later, on 7 December 1551, the new group of men-at-arms with their bands, the pensioners, and the "old men of armis" marched before the king at St. James Palace. Rutland led fifty horsemen in yellow and blue and his

⁶⁷ Threshold, p. 435.

⁶⁸ APC iii, p. 225; Lit. Remains ii, p. 313.

⁶⁹ See appendix C of this thesis for a lengthy explanation and transcriptions of BCA 50 and BCMD 1552.

standard was a peacock and pencils.⁷⁰ Earlier, on 1 December, he with others of the nobility had sat in judgment before Somerset. Somerset was cleared of charges of treason but was, by a divided vote, convicted of felony for inciting an unlawful gathering. Many outside Westminster Hall expressed their dismay at the verdict.

According to Jordan, this parade before the king was then an effort by the Council to show solidarity and also to overawe the city of London after Somerset's trial. Rutland attended another muster before the king, this time on 16 May 1552 and in Greenwich. However, due to the heavy cost, the men-at-arms were disbanded at Michaelmas of the same year.⁷¹

In retrospect, it seems that this was unfortunate for Northumberland since these paid bands of men would have helped him to defeat Mary's forces in the summer of 1553 during the Lady Jane Grey affair. However the evidence in fact suggests this would not have made a major difference. Professor Dale Hoak has recently shown that Northumberland lost control of events in 1553 not primarily for lack of arms but because he failed to secure Mary's person beforehand and because Mary's resistance won extensive popular support.⁷² Further,

⁷⁰ PRO PC 2/4, p. 612 (APC iv, p. 133); The Diary of Henry Machyn, p. 13; Lit. Remains ii, pp. 350-2.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 375; PC2/4, p. 612 (APC iv, p. 133); The Diary of Henry Machyn, p. 19;

⁷² D. Hoak, "Two Revolutions in Tudor Government: the formation and Organization of Mary I's Privy Council", in
(continued...)

horses, weapons, and armoury were certainly left over from the men-at-arms who were disbanded only about three quarters of a year earlier. Further, in Rutland's case most of his men-at-arms were his personal servants with some standing in the community. Though his household supported his stand, servants in other households may not have. These bands of men-at-arms which were paid for by the Crown also heightened Rutland's local as well as national profile and demonstrate the rewards of loyal Crown service. However, it is the Lady Jane Gray affair which became Rutland's next major concern.⁷³

Rutland's final major encounter with high politics under Edward, his support for Lady Jane Grey, was nearly fatal. It was through his office as lord lieutenant of Nottinghamshire that Rutland was most valuable to Northumberland. When the lord admiral earlier tried to win Rutland's support, he displayed a wise cautiousness. The situations were, however, not parallel since the lord admiral's case was much more futile. Northumberland at least had the blessing of Edward VI, including the king's Device and the letters patent drawn from it which altered the succession. It is interesting that Rutland himself signed neither.⁷⁴ However, the accounts preserved at

⁷²(...continued)

Revolution Reassessed, ed. C. Coleman and D. Starkey (Oxford, 1986), pp. 87-115.

⁷³ Threshold, pp. 97, 436.

⁷⁴ See: Lit. Remains ii, pp. 561-573; Chronicle of Queen Jane..., Camden Society iil (London, 1850), pp. 91-
(continued...)

Belvoir Castle can give us a glimpse of Rutland's activities as lieutenant in Nottinghamshire in trying to raise forces to assist Northumberland in his struggle against Mary Tudor.

Some of Rutland's servants were actually in London during the latter part of Edward VI's illness and most of these mentioned below were former members of Rutland's band of men-at-arms. George Lascelles, Robert Farrar, Giles Bigges, Richard Gates with other of Rutland's men were in London from 25 June. The first two men were actually MPs (whose elections Rutland helped to secure) and their presence was required in London on 1 March in order to attend Parliament. Parliament was dissolved on 31 March and these men either stayed in London or left and returned a few months later. Some of Rutland's men even remained until 10 July. Rutland, himself, was at his manor of the Eagle, which was only about six or seven miles south-west of Lincoln; and by 4 July he had purchased armour, perhaps in anticipation of what was to come,⁷⁵ since Northumberland was even encouraging some unofficial musters at this time. However, with some of his men in London, Rutland was certainly kept well informed.

By 8 July, only two days after the death of Edward

⁷⁴(...continued)

100. It appears that Rutland was at the Eagle in Lincolnshire at the time.

⁷⁵ BCA 59 (A few excerpts from this account may be found in Rutland MSS iv, pp. 371-3.

VI, Giles Bigges, who had been a gentleman usher for the first earl and still continued in that office at this time, rode from the Eagle to London and then back to the Eagle again in order to deliver letters from Rutland to the duke of Northumberland. One can only guess at the contents of Rutland's letters, but at least one may assume that he pledged his support to Northumberland.⁷⁶ The next day Northumberland, after a long period of hesitations, proclaimed Lady Jane Grey queen of England and on 10 July she was brought to the Tower and proclaimed queen throughout the city of London.

The day before, Mary had written a letter to the Privy Council ordering them to proclaim her queen. This arrived on 11 July. That same day Northumberland and Cheke (who was secretary of state) sent a letter to the lords lieutenant, which of course included Rutland, urging them to resist the claims of Mary. It is interesting to note that a little over a month earlier, on 7 June, the Privy Council conveniently authorized payments of £390, £180, and £40 to Rutland for his "pention and entertainment of his band of fiftie horsemen" which, it noted, was due midsummer the previous year.⁷⁷

On 13 July, Rutland with his company left the Eagle and rode about ten miles south/south-east to Newark, in

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ BL Royal MSS 18c 24, fo. 371. Mr. A.J.A. Malkiewicz first pointed out this reference to me.

Nottinghamshire. From there he rode to Nottingham. Between Nottingham and Newark he eventually ordered a system of post horses set up in order to facilitate the taking of musters.⁷⁸ The next day, Northumberland left London and rode with his army towards Cambridge and they arrived at their destination on 16 July. From there, Northumberland planned to confront Mary's forces in Norfolk; however, this manoeuvre was quickly aborted when his troops refused to continue.

During this time Rutland was still optimistic about their prospects because he sent numerous men into various counties in order to obtain support. He sent Matthew Hewgell into Yorkshire in order to summon his men there. He sent William Yaxley and Edward Holt into Norfolk. Rutland still assumed that they would be able to meet Northumberland there. This indicates that Rutland may have been more dedicated to Lady Jane Grey's cause than had been Northumberland. Robert Wingfield of Brantham implied this when he noted that Rutland adhered to Northumberland "with the utmost obstinancy".⁷⁹ Further, during this time, Rutland sent one Gaskyn to ride post into the North country to summon Rutland's men there. He also sent John Horseman into Yorkshire to buy horses (a further reminder of Rutland's northern influence). In

⁷⁸ BCA 59.

⁷⁹ "The Vita Mariae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham," ed. & trans. by D. MacCulloch, Camden Miscellany, xxviii, Camden Fourth Series xix (London, 1984), p. 270.

addition, he sent Thomas Osbarston south with letters for the Privy Council.⁸⁰

However, the forces backing Lady Jane Grey began quickly to disintegrate. By 19 July the Privy Council openly declared for Mary and she was proclaimed queen in London. The Privy Council sent orders to Northumberland to disband his forces. The next day, Northumberland changed sides and proclaimed for Mary.

Rutland was still in Nottingham by 20 July and he most likely remained there until 26 July. However, by 22 July he was well aware that his cause was lost and he began greatly to fear for his future. As is well known, Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, was earlier left in charge of troops which were guarding the Tower. On this day Rutland received one of Suffolk's servants. The servant had probably come from London and he would have certainly informed Rutland that all was lost.⁸¹ Northumberland, himself, had been arrested by Arundel on 21 July.⁸²

Two days later Grimshaw, the queen's servant, delivered to Rutland a message from Mary. Rutland then sent Powtrell and Yaxley to Mary in order to give her letters declaring his support for her. He also sent his controller, George Lascelles to Newark to proclaim for Mary.

⁸⁰ BCA 59.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Note that Jordan incorrectly stated that he was arrested on the 24 July, Threshold, p. 530.

By 25 July, Rutland sent Thomas Dale to deliver a letter to his servant Sir Gervase Clifton. Rutland may have desired to inform him of his intentions.⁸³

The next day, Rutland himself left Nottingham with his men and headed towards the new queen at Newhall. Rutland's men left Newhall after a few days and returned, most likely to the Eagle, before the end of the month.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, on 29 July, Rutland was ordered by the Privy Council to be committed to the custody of the knight marshall. The same day it was ordered that his uncles Clement Paston and John Paston "soones of Sir Wyllm Paston shall departe to ther fathers howse and there to remayne untyll he shall knowe farther of the quenes pleasure".⁸⁵

During this time Rutland's servants George Lascelles and Robert Farrar, both adept to some degree by now in London politics, "Sew[ed] for my lorde to the Councell...". But this was to no avail. On the last day of the month, Sir Henry Bedingfield was given a warrant by the Privy Council to deliver Rutland to Percy of the guard in order to be placed in the Fleet. On this same day, Lady Rutland quickly left Nottingham and headed for London.⁸⁶

Rutland's growing connections with Protestantism,

⁸³ BCA 59.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ PRO PC2/5 fos. 30, 38-9 (APC iv, pp. 304, 308).

⁸⁶ BCA 59.

his influence in the counties (brought about in part through his landed interests), his connections with the duke of Northumberland, his experience in military office holding, and his network of friends, relatives and servants all helped to facilitate his involvement in the affair. These and other factors also contributed greatly both to the levels of continuity and of development which were so prominent in this period of Rutland's political life.

Rutland's political life at this time can provide us with some important insights into the times. Northumberland was able to control the king's mind and at the same time he sought to control the country by enlarging the Privy Council with quite a few noblemen to whom Northumberland gave grants of office and land. Rutland was a man of very large possessions and became associated with Protestantism and he therefore was drawn into this. Due partially to his age and other factors mentioned, he never became more than a junior partner during this time though he had a very close contact in the Privy Council - William Paulet Lord St. John and marquis of Winchester. However, in the closing years of Edward's reign, Rutland appeared to be developing the potential for a much higher involvement in central politics.

COMING TO TERMS WITH THE MARIAN REGIME, 1553-8

It would be an understatement to suggest that the earl of Rutland was now in a dilemma. However, he quickly came to the conclusion that he needed to come to terms with the Marian regime. Throughout the years of Mary's reign he was able to do that at which his father and grandfather had been so accomplished. He was able to combine loyal service to the Crown with keeping his interests in various counties alive in order to survive turbulent times. The second earl was able to prove that the Manners were too important to be ignored and yet not dangerous enough to be eliminated.

The earl was able to come to terms with the Marian regime in various ways. His vast north-east Midland estates kept him a major force in local politics in that region. In high political and military office-holding he was able to demonstrate his loyalty to the Crown. At the same time he was careful not to offend Mary's religious settlement. As under the reign of Edward VI he was first drawn into Somerset's camp and then Northumberland's, so too under Mary he was naturally drawn into and complemented the powers which governed the land.

In August and early September 1553, various of Rutland's servants, and even lady Rutland herself, soon made contact with members of Mary's new Court appointees on his behalf. These members included Robert Rochester,

who was comptroller of the Household, and Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, who was great master of the household, and lord steward.¹

Rutland himself remained in the Fleet only long enough to incur a £36 charge for his maintenance. However, the interventions on his behalf soon brought their rewards. On 5 September, Rutland was brought before the commissioners. He was released three days later and ordered to go to his house in Holywell "wher to remayn till the quenes highnes' pleasure be further knowen towards him". With this he readily complied and he had some of his belongings sent from Belvoir. Besides being confined in his house, he was fined 1,000 marks but George Lascelles soon made arrangements on his masters behalf to borrow money in order to cover the payments. In early October Rutland, with Lascelles, went to Court again and met with Sir John Gage, the lord chamberlain, and with Rochester concerning his pardon. Then less than three months after the beginning of Mary's reign, on 7 October, Rutland was formally pardoned.²

In retrospect, the fact that Rutland was able to escape with his life was not surprising, since Mary was remarkably lenient with many of Lady Jane Grey's

¹ BCA 59.

² BCA 62 (excerpts are given in Rutland MSS iv, pp. 373-8 but the accounts are misdated). The correct dates are 1 October 1553-the end of Michaelmas 1554); F&F, p. 169; BCA 59; PRO PC 2/5, fo. 121 (printed in APC iv, p. 342); CPR P&M i, p. 466.

supporters. Only three were executed at that time: Northumberland, Gates, and Palmer. Lady Jane Grey, her father, and Guildford Dudley were not even executed until after Wyatt's rebellion, early the next year.³ However, the interest with Rutland at this time lay in his ability to come to terms with Mary's regime.

On 23 November, Simon Renard, the emperor's ambassador, wrote to his master:

The clemency the queen has shown to the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Rutland and several others, to whom she has remitted their compositions, has done much good and won over numbers of the nobility who have heard of these lords' devotion to the queen.⁴

This statement can be confirmed by the amount of trust Mary began to place in Rutland. Rutland himself was eager to gain that trust as can be seen by the fact that he kept very close contact with the Court after his release. Rutland even exchanged New Year's gifts with the queen that year despite the fact that less than half a year earlier he had tried to overthrow her rule.⁵ Further, he steered clear of Wyatt's rebellion.

He remained near the Court, residing mostly in Holywell, though perhaps visiting Mortlake at times. This worked to his advantage for his first real indication of royal favour.

On 12 February 1554, the day of Lady Jane Grey's

³ Mackie, p. 530; Tudor England, p. 229.

⁴ CSPS 1553, p. 395.

⁵ BCA 60.

beheading, and soon after Wyatt's Rebellion, the Privy Council ordered that sixteen named individuals, mainly Privy Councillors, should attend upon the queen with bands of horsemen and footmen. This amounted to a total of 2,100 footmen and 680 horsemen. This was almost certainly performed with the Edwardian bands of men-at-arms in mind and was again in response to threats to the Crown. That Mary should use the Edwardian model (including direct payments to the leaders) should not be surprising since many of Mary's Privy Councillors had actually been Privy Councillors under Edward VI and would certainly have remembered how the Edwardian regime had tried to deal with the threat of rebellion and faction. Like the Edwardian model these bands also appear to have been short lived.⁶

Rutland was entrusted with one-hundred horsemen, double the number he had been allotted under Edward VI. This more than anything else at this time graphically illustrates the amount of confidence that Mary placed in the young earl. Though those behind Wyatt's rebellion were former supporters of Somerset and Northumberland and were reacting against the Spanish marriage, Rutland was able to steer clear of it and was rewarded for his effort. Furthermore, Winchester, who had been reaped-

⁶ For evidence of payments see BCA 509. There were some differences, however. Mary's bands included footmen and the bands themselves appear to have had a lower profile, though they did attend musters.

pointed by Mary as lord treasurer, remained Rutland's contact with the Privy Council.⁷ Rutland was therefore back in favour to some degree and retained strong links with those actually governing. Further, nearly all of the men appointed to keep the bands were Privy Councilors, and Rutland's inclusion among them was, as had been the case with the Edwardian bands, a further confirmation of royal favour.

Rutland remained in contact at Court. He was present on the first day of Mary's second Parliament which began on 2 April 1554. He even resumed his old position in the House of Lords as trier of petitions from Gascony and parts beyond the sea and he was in attendance over two-thirds of the days it was in session. He was also involved in the festivities surrounding the arrival of Prince Philip in England in July 1554 and he with his retinue was at Court in Winchester for the royal marriage. Though this latter occasion may have proved expensive for the earl, it was well worth the cost by demonstrating his loyalty to the Crown.⁸

By this time Rutland had made somewhat of a political comeback. His mother, Eleanor, also became somewhat

⁷ APC iv, p. 392.

⁸ LJ i, pp. 448-63; For reception of Philip and marriage see F&F, p. 169 where a different interpretation is put forward concerning the effects of the cost; cloth for liveries alone, which he bought on 13 July, cost nearly £90, BCA 62; he received letters from the queen in April 1554 perhaps in regard to the coming ceremonies, see ibid.

prominent in Mary's Court. However, the following few years must have been a disappointment for him. Though Mary certainly did not want to alienate the earl, he was not one of her special friends. A good example of this is that he really did not hold a major office, during her reign, until 1557.⁹

Though King Philip wanted the English forces to invade France when the Habsburg-Valois war was resumed, the Privy Council was generally very reluctant. However, the situation changed at the end of April of 1557 when Thomas Stafford, an English exile, with dynastic pretensions, launched a farcical invasion of England though he had only two ships and fewer than one-hundred men. He landed at Scarborough and was able to take the castle and proclaim himself "protector of the realm". However, he was overwhelmed by Westmorland on 28 April. Since he was supposedly backed by Henry II of France, this alarmed the Privy Council and war was declared on 7 June.¹⁰

Rutland was soon after given his first major office of the reign, that of captain general of the horsemen of the English army which was to invade France. It might appear odd that a suspected Protestant sympathizer be appointed to such a post, but Rutland's situation was not

⁹ Rutland was not admiral of a fleet in 1556 as some authorities suggest, see for example: *DNB* xii, p. 935 and *GEC* xi, p. 256. This is probably a mistaken reference to his later involvement in the French campaign. L.C. John, p. 62.

¹⁰ *Tudor England*, pp. 247-8.

at all unique. To name a few examples, the duke of Northumberland's three surviving sons fought at St. Quentin that summer. Lord Braye took part in the Dudley conspiracy of 1556 and was in fact fatally wounded in the French campaign. Cuthbert Vaughan, Sir James Croft, Sir Peter Carew, and William Winter, all of whom were involved in Wyatt's rebellion also held important posts in the French campaign.¹¹ Rutland was prepared to set sail to Calais by approximately the end of the third week of July 1557, but was temporarily delayed by the bad weather though he most likely left by the end of that month.¹²

This was in a sense a family endeavour since two of Rutland's brothers were also involved in the English campaign. Oliver Manners personally accompanied him to Calais. Another of his brothers, Roger, with one-hundred footmen, accompanied Lord Admiral Thomas Howard when he left for the sea on 27 June of that year.¹³ Roger, himself, was beginning to become quite a force in his own right and was even created esquire to the body to Queen Mary sometime during her reign.¹⁴

Roger's travels abroad with his brothers in the

¹¹ C.S.L. Davies, "England and the French War, 1557-9", in The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560, ed. J. Loach & R. Tittler (London, 1980), p. 163.

¹² CSPS 1554-8, no. 323; for warrant of payments dated 15 September 1557 see: HMC, The MSS of the Right Honourable F.J. Savile Foljambe, of Osberton, 15th Appendix, pt v (London, 1897), pp. 5-6.

¹³ BCA 67 (excerpts from this account are in Rutland MSS iv, pp. 380-7 & a few are repeated in Rutland MSS ii, pp. 350-1); Foljambe MSS, p. 6.

¹⁴ L.C. John, p. 61.

previous reign perhaps whetted his appetite for life on the sea. In April 1554 Rutland first sent him to serve under the lord admiral. The lord admiral got along well with Roger and even indicated to Rutland, "I have not in all my lyffe had an honestere young gentyllman in my company ...". He also indicated that his whole company was "as mery together as I thynke was ever any companye ether by see or by lande." Roger therefore must have been pleased with the arrangement and he indicated to his brother that he would apply himself to the study of naval affairs.¹⁵ It is not surprising that again in 1557 Roger served under the lord admiral.

Though the story of the French war does not need re-telling here, it is necessary to give brief details in order to understand Rutland's role in context. The English forces greatly complemented those of the Spanish. Specifically, there were four phases of the English involvement in the war: the naval forces in the Channel and in the Atlantic in which Roger Manners served under the lord admiral, involvement in the siege of St. Quentin in which Rutland, his other brother Oliver, and again Roger, took part, garrisoning the Scottish border area, and finally, defending Calais.¹⁶ The naval campaign and the siege of St. Quentin, as well as the garrisoning of the

¹⁵ BL Royal MS 18c. 24, fo. 82; BCA 331; BCA 62; Rutland MSS i, p. 62.

¹⁶ From: R. Tittler, The Reign of Mary I, (London: 1983), p. 66; Davies, pp. 165-6; L.C. John, p. 61.

borders, had been successful.

The successful siege of St. Quentin involved 70,000 Spanish and Imperial troops combined with 5,000 of the English. On 10 August the decisive moment in the siege occurred with a French miscalculation in trying to relieve the town, though it actually fell two and one-half weeks later. An inaccurate account reached England, propagated by Philip, that the victory was English led. Philip was not willing to carry on the expedition during the winter and therefore called a halt and most of the forces were sent home.¹⁷ This included Rutland and probably both his brothers.

However, Rutland's role in the war efforts did not end there because the French took advantage of Philip's decision in January the next year. With 27,000 men, the French were able in three weeks to defeat a force of under 2,000 English and a few Spanish troops which even then were distributed among the three garrisons of the Pale.¹⁸

On 24 December the Privy Council received word from Lord Grey of Wilton, who commanded the English forces at Guisnes, of the likelihood of a French attack on Calais. Two days later, Thomas Lord Wentworth, commander of Calais, also notified Mary of the same. On 29 December the Crown was concerned enough both to order the navy to

¹⁷ The Reign of Mary I, p. 67.

¹⁸ From: ibid., p. 68.

be alerted and Rutland to be sent over with two seasoned captains and a small number of men. Rutland himself was eager to get back into battle. Mary indicated in a letter sent to Calais that because he:

was not only contentid for dewtys sake toward us to take this service on him, but at the first motion therof shewid much good will and forwardnes toward the same, owre pleasir is that he shall not only be of owre cownsell there, for the tyme of his abode, but that all such favor and curtesie be shewid unto him as may by any means setforth his estimation, and declare the good opinion that we have of him geven.¹⁹

However, Wentworth wrote back to Mary that day indicating that he thought the French were now targeting Hesdin and not Calais. This led the Crown to rescind its order to Rutland on 31 December. But on this same day Wentworth wrote to Philip and appealed for help against what he now realized was an imminent French attack. The French forces were before Newnham Bridge near Calais on New Year's Day. The historian C.S.L. Davies wrote of the events:

Neither the Council nor Wentworth thought that the situation was as critical as it was: to judge by the tone of other letters, both seemed to believe that, even if [Francois duke of] Guise were to attack, no more than a raid on the Pale need be feared.²⁰

The situation therefore changed for Rutland again on 1 January when, from Greenwich, the Privy Council ordered

¹⁹ Davies, p. 173; PRO SP69/11, nos 697-9 (CSPFS 1553-8, nos. 697-9).

²⁰ PRO SP69/11, nos 700-1 (CSPF 1553-8, nos. 700-1); CSPS 1554-8, no. 346; Davies, p. 173.

him to Court, the next day after which he was to take a force of men with him to Calais.²¹ As Rutland indicated in a letter of 3 January to the queen, he, that very day, tried to cross the English Channel. However, Rysbank (which was just south of Calais and on the other side of the harbour) fell the day before and the French were able to control Calais harbour. As Rutland's ships tried to enter the harbour they were soon fired upon. Rutland learned from one Kemp that the harbour was blocked artificially by raised sand and that it would almost certainly be fatal to try to enter. Further, Rutland indicated that "the mariners utterly refused to carry me thither". Rutland's ships were neither strong enough nor numerous enough to force their way into the harbour and he had to turn back to Dover. However, he sent back to Calais a search party to find a safe entrance so that if possible he could try again to enter the harbour the next day, as he mentioned in a letter to the queen.²²

The Privy Council wrote to him on 5 January commending "his valyaunt courage and towardnes in offring himsilf to enter the towne..." and urged him to enter Calais quickly. However, he was cautioned in this letter, and also in a letter to him on the next day, not to be too hasty but to make sure to have a good sized

²¹ PRO PC 2/8, p. 1 (APC vi, p. 225).

²² From: Davies, p. 173; PRO SP 69/12 no. 712 (CSPF 1553-8, no. 712); D.M. Loades, Mary Tudor, a Life (Oxford, 1989), pp. 295-6.

army assembled before he crossed.²³

However, events went from bad to worse. Calais itself had already been under siege by the third. It held out only a few days before Wentworth scandalously surrendered on the seventh. It was decided that a much larger force would have to be employed to retake the Castle and it was soon decided that they land at Gravelines or Dunkirk, both in Flanders.²⁴

Rutland considered where best to land the troops. Between 5 and 10 January mass levies were collected and ships impressed but a violent storm on the night of 9-10 January rendered the English fleet useless and the forces were soon ordered to be disbanded. Meanwhile, on 10 January, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Rutland, and others were ordered to convey the men assembled in Dover to Dunkirk, but this was, of course, to be delayed.²⁵

On 17 January the Council ordered a new force, but the troops were not to prepare themselves until the end of the month. On 18 January Philip wrote to the duke of Savoy that it would be a good idea, as the duke earlier mentioned to him and to Rutland, for Rutland to cross with his men to him.²⁶

Rutland was then, on 19 January, after various false starts, commissioned to be lieutenant and captain general

²³ APC vi, pp. 231, 233.

²⁴ Davies, p. 173.

²⁵ CSPS 1554-8, no. 354; PRO SP11/12, fos 37-40, 51-2 (CSPD 1547-80, pp. 97-8, nos 22 & 26); Davies, p. 174.

²⁶ CSPS 1554-8, nos 369-70.

of the army and navy.²⁷ He was to cross the Channel with about 5000 men. However, once again there were problems.

Guisnes soon fell and the Privy Council grew cold about sending troops across the Channel. Rutland was conscious of their opinions but he continued to try to obey royal orders. However, he encountered difficulties in raising the full 5,000 troops.²⁸

By 26 January bad weather hindered the mustering of Kentish men and the troops that Rutland and his captains had were insufficient in number and were very ill armed. Yet by the next day he was able to take musters of all the Kentish men and he indicated to the queen that he would be sending 500 troops to Dunkirk on 28 January. The same day Mary wrote to Rutland and instructed him to stay his forces at Dover and to inform his men in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk of the decision.²⁹ However, he had already sent some of his men over to Dunkirk by the time he received the letter.

On the last day of January Mary commanded Rutland to dismiss all of his forces except one-hundred men who were to remain in Dover under command of the lord lieutenant of Kent, Sir Thomas Cheney, who soon resigned in exasperation. Two days later Rutland was ordered to recall

²⁷ See BCG 75.

²⁸ CSPS 1554-8, no. 389.

²⁹ PRO SP11/12, fos 73-8 (CSPD 1547-80, pp. 98-9, nos 33-5).

the troops which were at Dunkirk.³⁰

The ordeal was not over entirely for the Manners. On 10 March, Count Feria wrote to Philip and indicated various appointments Mary had made. He indicated, among many other things, that Rutland with eight others had been appointed to a council of war.³¹

A few months later another French campaign was suggested. Count Feria wrote to Philip on 1 May that Paget recently suggested that Rutland should again lead the forces. But Paget soon changed his mind and suggested instead that Clinton, whom Philip mistrusted, should command the expedition and that the vice-admiral could command the navy. Both Paget and Clinton strongly supported Philip's plan for an expedition to recapture Calais. In addition, Paget may have wanted a naval man to head the forces. But Rutland was spared the embarrassment of what turned out to be another English fiasco. However, his brother Roger, under the command of Clinton, continued his military service at this time and was, for example, one of the captains responsible for the sacking and burning of the fishing port of le Conquet, Brittany, and the surrounding countryside in June. However, they were beaten off by an army of peasants.³²

³⁰ PRO SP11/12, fos 90-2 (CSPD 1547-80, p. 99, nos 42-3); see Davies, p. 179; APC vi, p. 256. Rutland paid his captains nearly £800 in coat, conduct, wages, and prests and sent everyone home, BCA 739.

³¹ CSPS 1554-8, pp. 366-9.

³² Ibid., pp. 378-80; see also Davies, pp. 180-1; L.C. John, p. 61.

Davies mentions as causes for the English loss of Calais lack of enthusiasm, lack of inspiration on Philip's part, bad leadership on the part of the Privy Council, bad morale among Calais' defenders, but most importantly, bad luck.³³ Rutland, who as we have seen was both eager to serve and was a relatively experienced military commander, found himself in the middle of this turbulence.

Though Rutland was perhaps viewed with suspicion at times by the Crown, he was able to avoid being ostracized by the regime. This may have in part resulted from his attempts to come to terms with the Marian religious settlement. What little information is available indicating religious connections at this time in his life points to the idea that Rutland did make attempts to come to terms with the Catholic regime while at the same time he retained some Protestant connections, especially on the local level. A few examples here will suffice to demonstrate this. These will include important conservative connections, his household servants, and his lack of opposition in Parliament to the Marian religious settlement.

As was seen, after Rutland's release from the Fleet he tried to remain in close contact at Court. Rutland naturally became associated in various ways with many leading conservative figures and a good example is his

³³ Davies, p. 185.

connections with the conservative, Arundel. He was one of the most respected and wealthiest noblemen in England and was well placed in the Marian regime.

Early in Mary's reign Rutland tried to gain the favour of this prominent member of the royal Household. By June of 1554 Rutland actually was able to place one of his servants in attendance on him. The details of the ensuing events indicate Rutland's interest in keeping in contact with Arundel. This unnamed servant was involved in a fight in the chamber of presence with one John Evans, sergeant-at-arms. The Privy Council committed Evans to the Marshalsea and Arundel ordered Rutland to banish his servant from the Court. On 2 July Rutland replied that he had dispatched him to the seas with money for his brother Roger. In the same letter he also indicated to Arundel that his men (almost certainly his band of men-at-arms) were now well furnished with horses and other necessities and that he was ready to serve the queen at the previously mentioned coming of Philip to England. He further indicated that he was sending Thomas Bamborough (who actually had been the standard-bearer in Rutland's Edwardian band) to attend upon him at Court and to advise Rutland when the queen should desire him to have access there. It was actually Bamborough who helped Rutland in gaining admission to Winchester that summer.³⁴

³⁴ PRO PC 2/7, p. 146 (APC v, p. 48); BCA 62; Rutland MSS i, pp. 64-5.

Rutland retained various close conservative connections which he earlier had and these almost certainly helped him politically. Throughout the reign of Mary Rutland remained in contact with the marquis of Winchester. He had certainly been a valuable contact for Rutland in the Privy Council under Edward. Further, Winchester regained favour, as well as his standing, under Mary (probably due in no little part to his conservative sympathies) where he continued as lord treasurer. One of his responsibilities was to overlook the financial arrangements of the navy³⁵ and it was perhaps through his influence that Rutland was able to get his brother Roger to serve under the lord admiral. Winchester may have also been instrumental in obtaining for Rutland his one-hundred horsemen in 1554 and his military posts later in the reign.

Though the political and religious connections of his wife's family, the Nevilles, may have been awkward for him under Edward, they certainly did no harm under Mary. Margaret's father, the earl of Westmorland had been suspected of conservatism in Edward's reign and was despised by the duke of Northumberland.³⁶

Margaret did have some interest in religious literature as is attested by the fact that in May 1554 she purchased a book of psalms. It may have been through

³⁵ Davies, p. 164.

³⁶ BCL ii, fo. 255 (Rutland MSS i, p. 63).

Margaret's influence that in the last year of Mary's reign Rutland purchased, presumably for his household chapel, various religious ornaments for which a reforming Protestant would have had little desire. Here the evidence is quite startling. In July 1558 Rutland purchased a holy water "stoppe" with a "sprynkyl", two candlesticks for the altar and a "shyppe" for frankencense for his chapel.³⁷

However, information about his household servants gives us a picture of a lord who was little interested in aggressively conforming to the religious views of the regime. By Michaelmas 1553 Rutland had appointed as a chaplain in his household, William Hutton (along with one Parson Yoxlay).³⁸ Rutland had rights of advowson to Bottesford church (a right which the duke of Rutland enjoys to this day) and he appointed William Hutton to the benefice, an office which he held until his death in 1559. Bottesford church was, of course, the main parish church which the Manners patronized and was very close to Belvoir Castle.

This was probably the William Hutton who attended Cambridge and received a B.A. in 1538-9, was a fellow of Queen's College from 1540-3, received an M.A. in 1541, and a B.D. in 1549. Only a few years later, therefore,

³⁷ BCA 60, fo. 14; BCA 67, this appears under Rutland's household charges.

³⁸ BCA 62.

he appeared in Rutland's household.³⁹

Hutton's will was written on 15 September 1558, just before the death of Mary, and it does not appear to have been amended or altered. It can be seen from the will that Hutton was a close and faithful servant of the family, indicating that his appointment was not a casual one. He gave bequests to Lord and Lady Rutland and various others of the family. He also gave bequests to numerous of Rutland's other household servants and he made various of them, including Thomas Disney and Robert Farrar, supervisors of his will.⁴⁰ If Rutland would have been concerned about the religious orientation of any one servant, it would certainly have been William Hutton. This was especially true at this time, since under Mary his allegiance to the Crown was in question.

The only remaining evidence yet found of William Hutton's religious orientation is the preamble of his will but here the information is illuminating. Current research has shown that it cannot be assumed that preambles of wills are always a sure guide to the faith of the deceased since many times they were written by the testator's priest or lawyer. However, they are at times one of many useful guides and especially so in this situation.

It would have been odd if a learned minister, such

³⁹ Alumni Cantabrigienses I, ii, p. 444.

⁴⁰ PRO PROB 11/42B, sig 26.

as Hutton, would not have taken special interest in the preamble of his will especially during these turbulent times. One may perhaps therefore place more faith in this preamble than on most others. The preamble of his will appears to be written from a Protestant perspective, since the usual Catholic phrases, such as references to the saints in heaven, and the Virgin Mary are not included as may be seen:

First I bequeth my sowle to God almightie the
Father the Sonne and the Hollye Gooste whome I
do confesse to be thre persones and one God
stedfastlie belevinge to have my synnes
forgyven at the latter day by the death and
bloode shedinge of Jesus Christ my savyour...⁴¹

If he grew sickly towards the end of Mary's reign (thus became less influential in Rutland's household) this may also help to explain why the previously mentioned Catholic items appeared in Rutland's chapel in 1558. In this instance, however, Rutland seems not to have taken great pains to appoint someone as his chaplain and appointee to a benefice who would zealously conform to the Marian religious settlement.

Furthermore, most of the servants he had during the closing years of Edward's reign continued in his service under Mary's reign. In fact, servants such as Giles Bigges, George Lascelles, John Bateman, and Robert Farrar (to name a few) who faithfully aided Rutland during his part in supporting Lady Jane Grey continued serving

⁴¹ Ibid.

Rutland under Mary.

Giles Bigges was one of Rutland's most longstanding and faithful servants. As we have seen it was he who delivered correspondence between Rutland and Northumberland during the July 1553 crisis. He remained in favour with Rutland by as late as June 1558 at which time Rutland paid him his half years annuity of £3 which was due.⁴²

Lascelles was perhaps Rutland's most visible reminder of his support for Lady Jane Grey. At the same time he was also one of Rutland's most faithful servants, having, as we have seen, sued to the Council on his master's behalf after the lady Jane crisis. He continued in the earl's service as comptroller of the household at least until the end of Michaelmas 1554, but here his service to the earl and his political career seems to have come to an end and he died a few years later in 1558.⁴³

John Bateman, who had for some time been in Rutland's household remained so throughout much of Mary's reign. There is evidence to indicate that he may have been the John Bateman who left England and was admitted a resident of Geneva on 24 October 1558, and was thus a Marian exile.⁴⁴ He returned to Rutland's household early under Elizabeth.

⁴² BCA 67.

⁴³ BCA 59; BCA 62; see also Bindoff ii, pp. 495-6.

⁴⁴ C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938), p. 82, no. 36.

Farrar, who remained in Rutland's household until the earl's death in 1563, continued openly to support Protestantism under the reign of Mary. In her first Parliament he was one of those who was noted as standing for "the true religion," i.e. Protestantism. He also was one of the 106 government opponents in the commons in 1555 in which was debated a bill on first-fruits and tenths and a bill to penalize exiles.⁴⁵

Rutland was one of those to whom this last bill was committed in the House of Lords, the others being the bishop of Chichester, and the notorious Richard Lord Rich.⁴⁶ Whether or not Rutland had a part in its rejection is not certain. However, his whole role in Parliament (which he attended most of the days it met) indicates an acceptance of the Marian regime. Of the bills which he opposed, most, unlike the anti-exile bill, were rather mundane, though they did have specific interests to him.⁴⁷

For example, Rutland dissented on a bill, passed in January 1556, to restore to the heirs of Sir Edward Neville the remainder of the barony of Abergavenny. The bill had the effect of excluding (for lack of sons) Rutland's sister, Frances, wife of Henry Neville, Lord Abergavenny, and any of her possible heiresses from

⁴⁵ Ibid. i, p. 22; ibid., ii, pp. 118-9.

⁴⁶ LJ i, p. 500.

⁴⁷ See ibid. i, pp. 445-540.

inheriting any portion of the barony.⁴⁸

Further, he with the earl of Sussex were dissenters on a bill, read for the third time in the house of lords on 21 February 1558, for the mustering and appointing of soldiers. It was in fact designed to address and amend the difficulties which arose in the mustering of troops during the French expedition. Since he had just been involved in the French campaign he had a primary interest and direct insight and knowledge of the possible effects of this bill. For example, he may have been alarmed at the provision in the bill which made it more difficult to muster troops from towns.⁴⁹

Earlier, in January 1555, he and Lord Wharton had dissented on the bill barring those dwelling in the county from selling divers wares in cities or towns.⁵⁰ This was of special interest to Rutland since he sold various goods produced in Belvoir in the nearby town of Grantham.

As always, Rutland was first and foremost a loyal servant of the Crown. However, further information concerning Rutland's interests in the counties reveals his ability to come to terms with the Marian regime.

Rutland continued to hold those local offices which a nobleman with a large amount of property would natur-

⁴⁸ Statutes of the Realm iv, p. 265; see GEC i, p. 33
note a.

⁴⁹ See Statutes of the Realm iv, pp. 320-2.

⁵⁰ LJ i, p. 483.

ally hold and he was able to continue to promote his friends and servants. For example on 18 February 1554 he, along with Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, appeared on the commission of the peace for Nottinghamshire. Various of Rutland's servants and clients appeared on the same commission including Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir John Byron (who was a son of Sir Gervase's new wife), Nicholas Powtrell, Sir Richard Whalley (whom Rutland had again befriended), and others.⁵¹ In January 1557 he, with Sir John Chaworth, who was a brother-in-law to the first earl of Rutland by his marriage to a Paston daughter, were given instructions for the levying of the second payment of the subsidy in Nottinghamshire. The Privy Council complained of corruption in the assessing of the first payment and they instructed the collectors to appoint good men under them, which gave Rutland another chance to promote his men.⁵²

He held a few other local offices. Earlier in January 1555 he, with various others, was appointed to the commission of sewers for the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Nottingham, and the Isle of Ely. By June 1556 he was one of the justices of Oyer and Terminer in Nottinghamshire. By August of that year he was appointed justice of the peace for Lincoln-

⁵¹ CPR P&M i, p. 22.

⁵² Black, pp. 298-300; BCL iii, fo. 24 (briefly summarized in Rutland MSS i, p. 67)

shire.⁵³ He did also retain the offices of warden of Sherwood Forest and constable of Nottingham Castle since these had been granted to him for life. Rutland was therefore able to retain his ability to place his friends and servants into positions of local influence.

Rutland was also able to influence a surprising number of elections to the house of Commons. His influence even appears to have exceeded that which the family possessed under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Perhaps it is worth our while to give a brief over-view.⁵⁴

Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, uncle of Rutland's servant Tristram Tyrwhitt, whom Rutland may have supported in the Lincolnshire county elections in the March 1553 Parliament, may also have been a Rutland client for Mary's Parliaments in April 1554 and in 1558. Another Tyrwhitt, Philip, was returned in November 1554.⁵⁵

At Grantham, Rutland, who held the stewardship of the manor, continued to hold enormous influence in the election of MPs. Sir Edward Warner continued to owe his return to Parliament in March and October 1553 to Rutland. Richard Disney, who was a son of the first earl of Rutland's treasurer, became a Rutland client for the next Parliament. Henry Savile, who was elected for Mary's

⁵³ CPR P&M ii, p. 109; APC v, pp. 279-80, 323.

⁵⁴ What follows is heavily dependent upon Bindoff as well as on J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1949), pp. 170, 203-6.

⁵⁵ For names and dates of MPs returned see Bindoff i. p. 131.

last Parliament, lived near Belvoir and may have been a recipient of his patronage. Rutland therefore held quite an amount of influence in the Grantham elections.⁵⁶

At Lincoln, Rutland held even more influence. Robert Farrar was returned for every Marian Parliament barring the last, due to his possible flight to the continent. In the minutes of the corporation of Lincoln, it was noted that Rutland nominated Francis Kempe, who was mace-bearer to the lord chancellor, as an MP for the Parliament of 1558.⁵⁷ This nomination by Rutland may, in fact, have been made in order to placate the Crown since he had little connection with Kempe. Rutland therefore influenced the election of one nominee in Lincoln returned to each of the five Marian Parliaments.⁵⁸

In Nottinghamshire, the Manners influence also remained strong. It is possible that the earl in some way had an influence on the election to the house of Sir John Constable who was a nephew of Sir Robert Constable, husband of Catherine Manners, sister of the first earl of Rutland.⁵⁹ Rutland's former servant Sir Richard Whalley was returned for the Parliaments of November 1554 and 1555. The Markhams had long been closely associated with the Manners. Sir John Markham, who had fought many times

⁵⁶ Bindoff i, pp. 133-4; ibid. ii, p. 49; ibid. iii pp. 279-80, 550-1.

⁵⁷ The MSS of Lincoln..., pt. viii, p. 49.

⁵⁸ Bindoff i, pp. 136-7

⁵⁹ Visitations of Yorkshire, ed. J. Foster, pp. 178-9.

under Rutland and who held Protestant sympathies was returned for Mary's last Parliament.⁶⁰

Since Rutland continued as constable of the castle (along with the wardenship of Sherwood Forest) of Nottingham, it is not surprising that he continued to hold major influence in this borough (as well as in the county at large). Sir John Markham's son, Thomas was returned for the borough for the first Marian Parliament. By 1549 Thomas appeared as a gentleman waiter to the second earl of Rutland and he served under Rutland in the Scottish campaign of that year. He was also one of the men-at-arms in Rutland's band in 1551-2 and remained in Rutland's household during Mary's reign. His brother William was elected for the November 1554 Parliament also for that borough. The Markhams also could, however, rely on their own high standing in the county.⁶¹ Nicholas Powtrell, returned to the same Parliament, was closely associated with Rutland and he performed various services for him. For example, by Rutland's request, in 1548 he with others was on a commission to survey Sherwood Forest and he was one of those who aided Rutland in the Lady

⁶⁰ Rutland MSS iv, pp. 264, 282 & passim. In the 1540s Sir John purchased two Crown leases one being the house of the Austin Friars in Newark, Nottinghamshire, and the other being a messuage in Ketton, Rutland. PRO E315/214, fo. 73; PRO E315/216, fo. 14; see also BCA 297 where in 1538 Rutland granted him an annuity of 40s. and one of £6 13s. 4d. to be taken from various Notts. properties. For list of MPs elected for the county see Bindoff i, pp. 164-6.

⁶¹ Rutland MSS iv, pp. 355, 362-3; BCA 50; BCA 62; Bindoff ii, p. 571.

Jane Gray crisis. He was also involved under Rutland in the 1557 French expedition.⁶² Rutland's faithful servant, John Bateman, was elected for the 1555 Parliament.⁶³

It may not be surprising that the earl retained some influence in Rutland. Anthony Colly was a servant of both earls and was elected for the second and third Marian parliaments. Kenelm Digby was elected for the first and last two Marian parliaments. The Digbys were well connected with the Manners though they also had had a high standing in Rutland for some time.⁶⁴

Rutland therefore retained his hold on the north-east Midlands throughout the reign of Mary. At the same time he seems to have had much less concern for the outcomes of elections in the North and there is no direct evidence of intervention. There were a few possible instances, however, the main one being that of Sir Robert Constable who may have been elected for the 1555 Parliament for Yorkshire. He, of course, was the previously mentioned brother-in-law of the 1st earl of Rutland. Another exception may have been Robert Roos of Ingmanthorpe, Yorkshire, who was elected for the 1555 Parliament for Thirsk. He was from a cadet branch of the Lords

⁶² CPR Edw. VI ii, p. 416; BCA 59; BCL iii, fo. 37 (for a transcription see appendix E of this thesis).

⁶³ For list of MPs elected for the borough see Bindoff i, pp. 166-8.

⁶⁴ For list of MPs elected for the county see *ibid.*, p. 72.

Roos and was therefore a relative of Rutland's.⁶⁵ It is conceivable that since the Manners owned such vast estates in Yorkshire, they were in fact more influential in the elections, as well as in local politics, than historians have given them credit.

However, the evidence during this time points to the conclusion that Rutland was able to maintain a high level of influence in the election of MPs in the north-east Midlands. At this time there is little evidence to suggest that he was concerned in influencing elections in the North.

In his military offices of 1557 and 1558 Rutland demonstrated an ability to draw troops from various counties, many of these being his servants and tenants. In 1557, Rutland demonstrated that he kept an interest in Yorkshire in regard to the raising of troops. He gave instructions to his servants, Nicholas Powtrell, James Ellerker, Richard Ellerker, and William Seagrave to prepare his servants and tenants in Yorkshire to serve as light horsemen under him. The rest of Rutland's servants were to give money "accordinge to the tenor of there indentures, and the quantytie, and rate of there fermes".⁶⁶

Rutland was of course involved in the selection of

⁶⁵ For lists of MPs in Yorks. see Bindoff i, p. 238; ibid. iii, p. 213.

⁶⁶ BCL, iii, fo. 37. See transcription of document in appendix E.

men from Kent to serve in the 1558 debacle but he was to do this in conjunction with the lord lieutenant there, Sir Thomas Cheney.⁶⁷ He also relied heavily on his relative, Sir Anthony St. Leger who was himself from Ulcombe and Leeds Castle, Kent.⁶⁸ This did not therefore directly reflect Rutland's political influence in that county though it shows that he was able to rely on good connections there (however imperfect the results were). Rutland was also given instructions to raise 500 picked men in London.⁶⁹ Rutland's propertied interests in both these areas were relatively little or non-existent which may explain to some degree why he found it so difficult to raise a sufficient number of troops in those areas. Rutland also gave instructions for the levying of men in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, where he still held some propertied interests and connections including the Pastons of Norfolk.⁷⁰ However, one of the main reasons why men were levied from these counties seems to have been their proximity to Dover. Had Rutland been given instructions to levy troops from the Midlands for the 1558 involvement, where he held much more influence, he

⁶⁷ PRO SP11/12, fos 37-40 (CSPD 1547-80, p. 97, no. 16).

⁶⁸ Sir Anthony's grandfather was the brother of Rutland's grandmother Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas St. Leger. The Visitations of Kent, 1574-1592 pt. 2, ed. W.B. Bannerman, Harleian Society, lxxv (London, 1924), p. 69.

⁶⁹ PRO SP11/12, fo. 58 (CSPD 1547-80, p. 98, no. 26).

⁷⁰ PRO SP11/12, fos 77-8 (CSPD 1547-80, p. 99, no. 35).

may have had better luck in raising troops. However, the distance was certainly a factor which most probably eliminated this option since he had little time to waste.

Returning to civil matters, Rutland continued in his dispute with the city of Lincoln over the fee farm. Lincoln especially showed itself to be reluctant to acquiesce to the earl's orders. In March 1554 the corporation sent Rutland a letter indicating that they, contrary to what he had asserted, were not his tenants and the rent they were paying to him was merely a rent seck. They would therefore not supply him with a horse-man furnished for service in his band of men-at-arms in Mary's reign. They did, however, send him a gift of £6 13s. 8d. to be used towards his charges.⁷¹ Lincoln proved itself tenacious to the end.

The earl had consistently requested payment of the full £100 of the fee farm though Lincoln had been paying him 20 marks and requested to be relieved even from this amount. In June 1555 the common Council of Lincoln agreed to show the earl letters patent by which Edward IV pardoned the £100 payment due to him from the fee farm. Powtrell and Disney were Rutland's agents in this matter.

At the same time the city tried to placate the earl. They agreed to Rutland's requests to make Farrar a citizen of the city in 1555 and to return him to that Parliament. Realizing that the earl would never pardon

⁷¹ Rutland MSS i, pp. 60-1.

the payment, the city Council decided to purchase the fee farm from him. After a flurry of correspondence, mostly initiated by the city Council, an agreement was reached whereby the city Council would grant him the parsonage of Surfleet and a payment of £300 in exchange for the discharging of the fee farm. On 30 July 1558 at the meeting of the common Council at the guild-hall in Lincoln, a deed of feoffment was sealed and a recognizance of £300 was acknowledged and both were delivered to Farrar. Though it appears that the exchange should have stopped all conflicts, the dispute dragged on into the reign of Elizabeth.⁷²

During this period in his life Rutland increasingly borrowed large sums from various well-known London merchants, from friends, and from other contacts. This was partly in result of the rebuilding of Belvoir Castle which was finally completed in 1555. He was given advice by an unknown person as how to better manage his financial affairs in order to reduce debts. That he made some effort towards this end can be seen by the fact that he reduced the numbers in his household. The numbers went from the mid-nineties in the reign of Edward to 84 by Michaelmas 1553. This appears to have been slightly reduced during the following few years.⁷³ However, his

⁷² Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/2 fos. 104, 120-3, 126, 136-7, 142.

⁷³ Nichols II, i, p. 45; see F&F, pp. 168 & 170 for interesting details of this letter of financial advice to
(continued...)

debt problem still troubled him throughout the reign. His financial dealings represent an extremely complex web of transactions which on close inspection refuse to yield accurate totals in regard to debts for any one year.⁷⁴

He mortgaged various properties, some of which became alienated owing to non-payment. Those forfeited or sold during this time included the manors of Holt and Cley in Norfolk, Uffington, Tallington, and Deeping in Lincolnshire, Thingdon, Burton Latimer, Stoke Albany, Braunston Newstead, and Braunston Lillishull in Northamptonshire, Eastbourne in Sussex, and four messuages in

⁷³(...continued)

Rutland; BCA 62; BCA 61A fos. 52-3, from Christmas 1554 - Michaelmas 1555 the number of Rutland's household servants averaged about 65. Though these figures include Belvoir and the Eagle only, this is where the majority of his servants would have been concentrated though some may have been in London.

⁷⁴ See PRO C54/502 ms. 10-1; ibid./504 ms. 12-3, 27-8; ibid./508 ms. 17-20; ibid./511 ms. 12, 38; ibid./518 ms. 15-6; ibid./524 ms. 30-2; ibid./529 ms. 7-8; ibid./547 m. 33; ibid./550, ms. 19-20; PRO E323/8 ms. 12-3; PRO LC4/188 fos. 153, 176, 202, 204, 369, 395, 397, 427, 429. Professor Stone maintained that the earl owed some £6,000 on bonds, mortgages, and bills to London tradesmen and financiers by 1554. However, it is not clear how this figure was reached. He referred to BCA 55 in which were recorded debts totalling approximately £3,070 which were to be paid at London by 16 April 1552. Over half of the sum was paid by that date and most of the remainder was paid at Christmas of that same year. He further cited some entries in the patent rolls in which a few licences were granted to Rutland to sell various of his manors to London merchants. See F&F, p. 169 note 1. BCA 736 lists debts totalling nearly £7,500 in all apparently for the years 1552, 1553, and 1554 together. What is perhaps more pertinent is the amount of money he owed at his death. It is now possible to determine this in the light of new research and this is included in chapter 6.

Yorkshire.⁷⁵ Many of these were only redeemed by the third earl of Rutland when final payments were made.

However, at the same time he was able to acquire new property. The largest grant of land at this time came from the Crown. This was actually some of the former Roos property which had not yet descended to the family. This did help him to increase his income to a moderate extent and at the same time it showed a surprising amount of royal favour.⁷⁶

This land itself was formerly in the possession of Eleanor, second daughter of Richard de Beauchamp earl of Warwick. She married Thomas eighth Lord Roos who died in 1430 and married next Edmund Beaufort, earl of Dorset and later duke of Somerset. She died in 1467 and the property was eventually retained by Henry VII and granted to various other persons and thus was not held in stewardship by Lovell and did not descend to the Manners in 1524. Rutland himself petitioned to get the property, referred to as the coparceners' lands, restored to the family and the fact that it was restored by Mary showed an amount of favour by the Crown. It was formally granted to the earl on Michaelmas 1554.⁷⁷ But some problems remained with the beneficiaries (or their descendants) of Henry VII's grants. The property itself

⁷⁵ CPR P&M ii, pp. 230, 210, & 134-5; ibid. iii, pp. 209, 329.

⁷⁶ See F&F in which the value of these estates is somewhat underestimated.

⁷⁷ CPR P&M ii, pp. 177-9.

was located in Hertfordshire, Essex, Somerset, Berkshire, Cornwall, London, Oxford, Worcestershire, and in Wiltshire. Per inquisitions post mortem taken late in the reign of Henry VII it can be seen that at the very least, the property was then worth £250 per annum. That by the mid-Tudor period it was actually worth much more can be seen by the fact that the manor of Walthamstow Tony in Essex alone, with its members, was worth nearly £190 per annum in 1570.⁷⁸

The earl soon sold most of the coparceners' lands in order to lighten the load of his debts. For example Rutland sold various pieces of his land in Cornwall to numerous Cornish men in November 1559. The transactions include the sale of the rights to the toll tin there which netted Rutland almost £500. In total from the one series of transactions in Cornwall Rutland realized just over £1,500. The third earl of Rutland sold Chilton Foliat in Wiltshire to one William Darrell for £551 after a series of heated Court disputes over the rights to the manor. However some of the property, such as the above mentioned Walthamstow Tony was still held by the third earl of Rutland in 1570. As can now be seen, this was a

⁷⁸ Calendar of Inquisitions Henry VII i, no. 247; ibid. ii, nos. 883, 931; ibid. iii, nos. 34, 50-1, 117, 224. Note that the inquisition of Wiltshire was lost (see ibid. iii appendix iv, p. 605) but that a copy appears in PRO C47/9/18 fos 44-6; For a valor taken when third earl came of age see BCA 1154 -- more of the coparceners' lands may have been in his hands at this date, but part of this valor has been lost.

very lucrative land grant and it certainly helped to relieve some of his debts.⁷⁹

It further shows that, for now, Rutland was intent on keeping his lands in Yorkshire and in the Midlands, for the most part, but that he was willing to sacrifice the lands outside these areas.

Rutland proved to be resilient because he was able to come to terms with the Marian regime. In his military and political offices he once again demonstrated obedience to the Crown. He was also able to continue in the type of local offices which a nobleman of his standing would naturally be expected to hold and was thus still able to promote his friends and servants. He was involved with few Protestant connections throughout the reign on the higher level possibly in an attempt to appease the Marian regime, though on the local level it appears that he retained many of these connections. The property he maintained helped him to retain his local standing and his ability to influence elections to Parliament demonstrated this standing to some degree. His increased borrowing of money, mostly from London merchants, came at a time when his high military and political office-holding was certainly not at its highest and therefore does not suggest that Rutland wasted large

⁷⁹ For dispute with William Darrell see the whole of PRO C47/9/18. For grant to Darrell see *ibid.*, fos. 61-66. I would like to thank Dr. Amanda Bevan for this reference. See also PRO STAC5 R31/23 & *ibid.* R15/2. For transactions in Cornwall see PRO C54/571 ms. 2-14.

amounts of money in his service to the Crown. In fact, he was rewarded by the Crown with his band of men-at-arms and with the coparceners' lands, both of which showed a large amount of royal favour. (Further, after the middle of the decade his household expenditure was probably somewhat reduced due to the completion of the building of Belvoir Castle and the reduction of his household servants.) However, at the same time this must be balanced by the fact that his military offices which he held in 1557 and 1558 certainly put a strain on his finances. Though Rutland was able to come to terms with the regime, yet with the death of Mary in November 1558 came the possibility of new and brighter prospects for the earl.

HIGHER FAVOUR UNDER ELIZABETH, 1558-63

After the death of Mary, Rutland was immediately accepted into favour by Elizabeth. He was granted various offices culminating in his highest yet, president of the Council of the North. This, of course, enhanced his national prestige in general and increased his involvement in the North in particular. Other members of his family were also active in royal service including his brothers Roger, Oliver, and Thomas. Further, Rutland entirely embraced the Elizabethan religious settlement. At the same time, his political influence in the north-east Midlands, which continued to be his primary power-base, increased. For example, he had for some time, without dispute, held the prevailing influence in Nottinghamshire and Rutland and his influence in Lincolnshire continued. Though he did receive rewards for the offices he held, these were not enough to offset the amount of debt which, though in no way fatal, did cause him to alienate some of his property, mostly now in the Midlands and in Yorkshire, owing to defaults on various mortgages.

From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Rutland was anxious to attract royal favour. He was in London in early November and was at the Court at Hatfield sometime in the middle of that month. He was thus ready to accept

what might fall his way.¹

Elizabeth quickly employed him in investigations into the late Cardinal Pole's affairs. On 19 November, just two days after the death of Mary and the cardinal, Elizabeth sent Rutland with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Sir Gawen Carew to secure and take an inventory of all the goods of the cardinal. They immediately made their way to Lambeth and there conversed with the agreeable Signor Priuli, who was probably a member of Pole's household and whom Pole almost certainly recruited when he was in Italy. By 21 November, Rutland and his men sent to Elizabeth a copy of the cardinal's will (a calendar made by Priuli), of his legacies, along with an inventory of the cardinal's more important removables. They remained a little while longer in order to take a more exhaustive inventory.² Then, on 22 November, the Privy Council sent a letter from Hatfield to Rutland ordering him to apprehend Anthony Fortescue, late comptroller of the cardinal's household, and to keep him under arrest in his house. Rutland (along with Sir John Mason) also had in his custody ones Kele and Prestall. However, he was ordered to set them free though they were each bound in £100 and called before the Privy Council. By as late as 10 December the late cardinal's horsekeeper sent a mule

¹ BCA 67.

² PRO SP12/1, no. 10 (CSPS 1558-67, p. 115(10)).

to Rutland perhaps in order to placate the earl.³

Rutland's association with the Protestant Throckmorton during this commission proved a valuable Court connection for the family. Throckmorton, who had been an active courtier under Henry VIII and Edward came back into high favour under Elizabeth becoming renowned as an ambassador to France and also allying himself closely with Dudley.⁴

With the wars of religion starting in France in 1562, Throckmorton persuaded Elizabeth to back the Huguenots by sending troops to Le Havre in order to help to bolster up the cause of Louis, prince of Condé. Oliver Manners served with Throckmorton in early 1563. In March of that year both were involved in communicating between the English Court and Warwick who was at Le Havre. In the following months (and possibly earlier in the winter of 1562) Oliver served under Warwick as one of the captains of the 5,000 English troops. However, the English garrison was besieged by 20,000 French forces including both Catholics and Huguenots and suffered horribly from the plague and starvation. They were forced to evacuate at the end of July though Oliver with three others were held by the French as hostages. Oliver

³ PRO PC 2/8, pp. 196, 198 (APC vii, pp. 5, 7); BCA 67.

⁴ Hasler iii, pp. 497-9.

fell ill and died soon thereafter.⁵

Thomas Manners, nicknamed "Lustie" also served the Crown early under Elizabeth. He was involved in Ireland and for his services was, in 1563, granted an annuity of £30.⁶ He therefore did his part to keep the family in royal favour.

Roger Manners continued his involvement at the royal Court and was appointed esquire to the body to Queen Elizabeth. He was fairly well involved in Court politics throughout the whole of the reign of Elizabeth.⁷

Rutland remained in close contact with the Court during the early months of the reign. He and Lady Rutland exchanged New Year's gifts with the queen and were at Court for the festivities. They remained there and attended the coronation. During the coronation procession, Rutland followed directly behind the queen and carried a plain naked sword without a point, symbolizing, according to the Venetian ambassador, unconquered Ireland.⁸

On 13 January he was at the Tower with various

⁵ J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1563, (2nd ed., Oxford, 1959) pp. 55-62; Hasler iii, pp. 497-9; CSPFS 1563, nos. 500(2), 511(1), 533(1), 536, 779, 1081(4). Oliver's death is mentioned in Rutland's will - see in this thesis, appendix F, memorandum, pp. 306 & passim.

⁶ Rutland MSS i, p. 145; CPR Eliz. ii, p. 507.

⁷ L.C. John, pp. 60-62. See throughout (pp. 57-84) for interesting and enlightening information chiefly concerning Roger's involvement at the Elizabethan Court.

⁸ BCA 67; CSPV 1558-80, no. 10.

others to witness the creation of Lord Thomas Howard as Viscount Howard of Byndon. Just two days later Rutland formally received the ritual pardon from the new monarch.⁹

Rutland was elevated to highest favour on St. George's Day, 23 April, of that year. He, with the duke of Norfolk, Lord Robert Dudley (who was now master of the horse), and the Marquis of Northampton, was given the order of the garter. He was installed at Windsor at 3 June 1559 with the others.¹⁰

The Dudley connection strengthened. In May of that year Lord Robert dined at his house.¹¹ Rutland began courting his favour with some fervour which can be seen in a letter he sent to him in June the next year. He wrote to Dudley that, as he had promised, he would send him "one of the best dogs that ever hath ben in this contry". However, due to "thenemytie that some berith your lordship but specially towards me, they found meanes to stele the same dog..." and to dye it various colours. Further, various courtiers made wagers that Rutland would break his word by not sending the dog to Dudley. "But whosoever so saith, I wishe they were as honest in there

⁹ CPR Eliz. i, pp. 54, 244.

¹⁰ CSPS 1558-67, no. 31; Bod. L. Ashmolean MS 1113 fo. 84.

¹¹ HMC, The MSS of the Marquis of Bath Preserved at Longleat, Wilts.... v, Talbot, Dudley, & Devereux Papers 1533-1659, ed. G.D. Owen (London, 1980), p. 150. See in this source references to members of the Manners family later in the sixteenth century.

dedes as I am and wilbe in keping my promise."¹² Certainly Rutland was keen to re-introduce the Dudley/Manners alliance which had been evident in Edward's reign.

Rutland continued to receive higher royal favour than he had known before. On 15 May, he was commissioned to be queen's lieutenant in both the counties of Nottinghamshire and Rutland.¹³ Through this office he was involved in the mustering of troops for various campaigns.

Earlier, in 1559, with the influence of the militant Calvinist, John Knox, Scotland began to turn to Protestantism and a backlash against Catholic France ensued. Events led to such a state that in October of that year, Mary of Guise, the queen regent, was formally deposed in Edinburgh, rending in two the auld alliance. Alarmed by a possible French invasion first into Scotland and next possibly into England (and also wishing to stimulate the Scottish rebels), Elizabeth, on the advice of Cecil, concentrated an army in northern England numbering 4,000 men and led by the duke of Norfolk and Lord Grey of Wilton. She also ordered Admiral Winter to take a fleet to the Forth in order to frustrate French attempts there. Then on 27 February a formal alliance was made between the English and Scots and together they were able effectively to defeat and to evict the French, ensuring Scottish independence from that country in the summer of 1560.¹⁴

¹² Seymour Papers, 1532-1686 i, p. 157.

¹³ BCG 79.

¹⁴ The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603, pp. 41-7.

As lieutenant of Nottinghamshire and Rutland the earl of Rutland was busy overseeing the mustering of troops in those counties so that they could be sent to the North to repel this French threat and he further ordered the mustering of troops for the French campaign initiated by the English a few years later. In order to facilitate his duties as lieutenant his thoughts turned towards repairing Nottingham Castle. In the middle of January 1560, Rutland had noted to Winchester that the castle was decayed (it had been neglected during the reign of Mary) and in February Winchester awarded a commission to make repairs.

At the same time, Rutland ordered the corporation of Nottingham to muster all able men. By 1 February 1560 they were able to levy ten archers and thirty-one billmen. Rutland appointed Sir John Byron to levy men in the county itself and he himself was able to muster a further two hundred men. Rutland further sent his servant, Thomas Bamborough, as captain of 100 men, to serve on the borders in January.¹⁵ He appointed Anthony Digby to muster and to captain troops in the county of Rutland early that summer. 415 men were found of whom 100 were already serving in the North. For the French campaign of 1562/3, under Rutland's orders, the justices of the peace

¹⁵ BCL iii, fos 63-4 (Rutland MSS i, pp. 70); Rutland MSS i, p. 71.

in Nottinghamshire were able to muster 600 men.¹⁶

Rutland was fairly involved in Elizabeth's first Parliament in 1559 and her second in 1563. He was promoted from being trier of petitions for Gascony and parts beyond the seas to that of trier of petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland in Elizabeth's first Parliament. He was appointed to various committees to which certain bills were committed which dealt specifically with the Elizabethan religious and political settlement. These bills included the treasons bill and both bills designed to restore royal supremacy (it can be ascertained that he voted for the first of these supremacy bills, at the least). He was involved in other committees because of his specific experience or interests, as had been the case under Mary. For example, he was one of those commissioned to the bill for the explanation of the restitution of the late Cardinal Pole. Rutland had a very good attendance rate for both Parliaments, further indicating that he was keen to retain Court connections and influence despite his duties in the provinces.¹⁷

His political fortunes continued to increase a few months after the death of the previous incumbent, the

¹⁶ PRO SP12/13, fo. 29 (CSPD 1547-80), p. 156, no. 4; Rutland MSS i, p. 88.

¹⁷ LJ i, pp. 541-618, for various bills in which he was involved see specifically pp. 557, 559, 563, 570, 574. Rutland was also appointed as a proxy in Elizabeth's first Parliament by the earls of Bath and Bedford.

earl of Shrewsbury. On 20 January 1561 Rutland was given the presidency of the Council of the North. At the same time, he and his Council were also given a commission of Oyer and Terminer and another commission to enquire and suppress all violences and other problems there.¹⁸

During Rutland's presidency, the Council of the North served strongly both in a judicial and an administrative capacity as can partially be seen by the above commissions. Its administrative authority was bolstered after the presidency of Shrewsbury in 1560. After his death late that year, Cecil, with the advice of Sir Thomas Gargrave (the vice-president of the Council of the North), Thomas Eynns (the secretary of that body), and the attorney-general thoroughly revised the instructions given to the president of the Council of the North. These revised instructions had a two-fold effect. They emphasized its position as a law court in its own right and they restored its executive responsibilities which had been lost under Edward VI.¹⁹

Other new instructions also had the effect of physically establishing the Council in York, with its members being bound in turn to reside there during legal holidays and the president being required to keep house there, unlike the situation which had existed under

¹⁸ BCG 80-1.

¹⁹ This and the next paragraph rely heavily on R.R. Reid, The King's Council in the North (London, 1921). See specifically pp. 188 & passim.

Shrewsbury. To accommodate this end, Rutland soon began making extensive repairs to the king's manor house at York. The fact that the councillors were now required to be in attendance predominantly at York led to a large increase in judicial business, both in criminal and civil cases.²⁰

The judicial duties of the Council of the North made up much of their work load. For example, it was noted that from 28 July 1561 to the end of the month, Rutland and his Council held a session where twenty-four offenders were condemned. On 1 August they kept a warden's court in which they condemned three Englishmen and five Scotsmen. On 14 May 1562 the Council of the North indicated to Queen Elizabeth that they had not only been hearing civil cases but had also kept a session of Oyer and Terminer and jail delivery in which nine people were attainted for felonies, six of whom were executed. The Council of the North held a session at York Castle from 18 July to 11 August 1562 in which twenty-one persons were attainted for murders and felonies.²¹

After about a year and a third in office, the seasoned Rutland noted of their responsibilities that though the country seemed at the moment quiet, he found it generally:

in suche aptnes and disposicion to the

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 188-9.

²¹ PRO SP59/4, fo. 235 (CSPFS 1561-2, no. 367); CSPFS 1562, nos 54, 463.

contrary, as I see plainly that the terror of the lawe with grete vigilancie must be contynually before their eyes and examples of sharpe correction nowe and then used amonges them. I have travelled in the due ponishment of rottes routes [sic] and suche other grete mysdemeanors, so as I trust the same and suche like evilles are well aswaged...²²

Some of these cases which came before the Council of the North involved settling large disputes between various magnates. For example, on 1 June 1562 the Council of the North ended a controversy between the earl of Northumberland and Lord Grey after which the two declared their mutual friendship.²³ However most of the cases were much more mundane.

The new instructions also bolstered the Council of the North's executive powers by empowering it to punish all breaches of penal laws. For example, it was given new powers to compel the wardens of the Marches and the justices of the peace to enforce the Tillage and Enclosure Acts and to issue commissions to those ends. The enforcement of these acts was one of the Council's main concerns as the various records to this effect testify. One of Rutland's first actions as president was to write to the wardens of the Marches against Scotland to get their opinion on how the Enclosure Act could be quickly implemented.²⁴

²² PRO SP59/6, fos 21-2 (for a summary see CSPFS 1562, no. 56).

²³ PRO SP59/6, fos 32-4 (CSPFS 1562, no. 137).

²⁴ The King's Council in the North, p. 190; PRO SP59/4, fos 101-2 (CSPFS 1560-1), no. 1026).

In fact, many cases brought before the Council of the North dealt with tenant right and enclosures. For example, in April 1562 Lord Grey wrote a letter to Rutland in which he included the names of those who were found at fault by the commissioners on enclosures. Rutland planned to deal with the matters during a session of Oyer and Terminer and jail delivery in Newcastle on 29 June.²⁵ Rutland and his Council were also involved in trying those who fell foul of the Crown's religious policy.

After the conservative Shrewsbury's death Elizabeth insisted that her religious settlement be observed in the North as well as in the South. In order to help bring this about, the archbishop of York, the bishop, and the dean of Durham were included in the Council. Other new instructions were added compelling the Council to aid the bishops entrusted with a commission in enforcing matters of religion. The Council was further a commission for ecclesiastical matters in the northern shires. According to R. R. Reid, this made it, in effect, the court of high commission for the province of York.²⁶

Rutland and his Council were involved in the questioning and trying of various persons accused of popery. For example, on 18 July 1562 Cecil ordered Rutland to examine a priest who was suspected of saying masses

²⁵ PRO SP59/5, fo. 303 (CSPFS 1561-2, no. 1072); PRO SP59/6, fos 25-6 (CSPFS 1562, no. 1072).

²⁶ The King's Council in the North, p. 188.

before Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox. On 11 August Rutland wrote to Cecil that he was examined though he was allowed to depart upon a bond for his appearance when requested. He also indicated that other persons were accused of hearing masses and brought before him and briefly imprisoned. However, as he also indicated, he released these soon afterwards due to insufficient evidence.²⁷

Rutland himself had conformed to Elizabeth's religious policy. Days after her coronation he purchased a New Testament.²⁸ Countess Margaret died on 13 October 1559 and early the next year he married Bridget, daughter of John, Lord Hussey, and widow of Sir Richard Morison of Hertfordshire.²⁹ Sir Richard was the fervent Protestant in whose house Rutland had attended the second debate on transubstantiation in December 1551. His new wife helped strengthen Protestant ties in the family. For example, the Marian exile, Thomas Sampson, who had earlier sent Lady Rutland one of the volumes of Calvin's Institutes also gave Rutland a written prayer on the occasion of his appointment to the North in July 1561.³⁰

²⁷ PRO SP59/6, fos 97, 106-7 (CSPFS 1562, nos 332, 464).

²⁸ BCA 67 (Rutland MSS iv, p. 384). This is the same account in which was recorded late under Mary's reign that he bought the Catholic paraphernalia for his chapel.

²⁹ GEC xi, p. 257.

³⁰ BCL iii, fos. 123-4 (Rutland MSS i, p. 73); See also, Marian Exiles 1553-1559, pp. 279, 281. In 1566 Lady Bridget was described as a Lutheran, see CSPR 1558-71, p. 208; Rutland was at first very secretive about his
(continued...)

As has been seen, Rutland and his Council did make some fairly moderate attempts to uphold the religious settlement through judicial means. Also, Rutland was keen to provide for the strengthening of the religious settlement in the North. On first going to the North he noted to Cecil:

I do not finde the country so forward in religion as I wish it to be. Wherefore I think it good ye move the archbisshop to bring some good prechers with him. Yf he could bring downe Master Whitehede with him I beleve his credite will do muche good in theis partes.³¹

It was alleged by Alvarez de Quadra, bishop of Aquila, in a letter to Cardinal de Granvelle that in March 1562 Rutland, with various others including the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, and Lord Hunsdon, met in Lancaster under the pretext of a hare hunt. Their purpose was to devise measures against various recalcitrant Catholics. Quadra also alleged that these men feared a disaster if they did not act prudently.³² Whether or not these specific details are accurate is not known, but this does illus-

³⁰(...continued)
intentions so much so that John Bateman felt compelled to write to Rutland asking him to indicate to him whether or not the rumours of his intention to marry (probably leaked by Bridget) were true despite his earlier assertions to the contrary, BCL iii, fos. 83-4 (Rutland MSS i, p. 71).

³¹PRO SP59/4, fos 101-2 (For a summary see CSPFS 1560-1, no. 1026).

³²CSPS 1558-67, no. 153. He further wrote: "There is not a head amongst them worth anything except that of the duke..." the latter of whom he further indicated was not even a Protestant.

trate the uncomfortable situation in which Rutland found himself. He was to implement the Elizabethan religious settlement in a part of the country which had been much more comfortable under Mary's settlement.

It is not surprising, then, that Rutland, as president, was placed on the commission to enquire into offences against the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy in the province of York and on the commission to take oaths of all ecclesiastical persons in the same province.³³ In general, Rutland was willing to uphold the Elizabethan settlement, yet he knew that a strident and revolutionary approach would incur the wrath of the natives.

In order to bring about pacification of the North, in the summer of 1561 Rutland was commissioned to rebuild and fortify various forts and castles on the borders. At the same time his brief included securing the coastal areas. For example, in August 1561 he gave orders to officials along the coast and in various islands to search any strange ships that might be in their vicinity. These specific orders were in regard to possible hostilities that might arise at the coming of Mary Queen of Scot's to Scotland. Sir Thomas Gargrave, still vice-president of the Council of the North, was ordered to send commissions for the levying of men in September 1562. In May 1563 Elizabeth ordered Rutland to muster footmen in Yorkshire and in Durham (besides those he had

³³ CPR Eliz. ii, pp. 170-1.

overseen the mustering of in Nottinghamshire) and to appoint captains, officers, carriages, and other necessities and to send them to Berwick where they were to be ready for service at a moment's notice. In June Rutland was ordered to cause the coastal towns to stand on guard in case of possible French hostilities.³⁴ These latter examples were, of course, in reference to the 1562/3 French campaign.

As the queen's main governmental representative in the North, Rutland was obliged to fulfil various quasi-diplomatic functions. For example, on 18 June 1562 he, along with Lady Rutland, the archbishop of York and the nobility and gentlemen of Yorkshire, was commissioned to meet the queen of Scots and to conduct her to the future place of meeting between her and Elizabeth. Perhaps because of his enhanced position in the North, earlier, in September 1561, Elizabeth ordered him along with Norfolk and Oxford to prepare for the king of Sweden's arrival to England. They were to send retinues to greet the king on his arrival and were themselves to go to Court on the news of his embarkment.³⁵

A symbol of the Council of the North's executive authority was the use of the queen's signet which was kept by Thomas Eynns, the secretary. Its use is graph-

³⁴ BCG 82; PRO SP59/4, fos 260-1, 264-5 (CSPFS 1561-2, nos 416, 419); Rutland MSS i, pp. 74-8, 82, 88; PRO SP59/6, fos 229-30 (CSPFS 1563, no. 726).

³⁵ Haynes, State Papers, p. 370; PRO SP59/6, fo. 58 (CSPFS 1562, no. 210)

ically illustrated by a letter from Rutland to Cecil on 30 May 1562. He indicated that on that day the Council of the North sent various letters under the signet to all the justices of the peace, mayors, stewards, and bailiffs in Yorkshire for the execution of a proclamation concerning apparel, armour, great horses, and even the wearing of great hose, ruffs, swords, daggers, etc. The officials were further to report back to Rutland's Council every month.³⁶

However, the Council of the North certainly had limits to its powers as can be seen by various examples. In June 1561 Sir Nicholas Bacon rebuked Rutland for reprieving, without the consent or knowledge of the justices of assize in Yorkshire, two men condemned of robbery. In August, Winchester ordered Rutland not to call before the Council of the North the queen's customers and controller of Berwick, or any of her tenants, for any case which could be brought before the Exchequer. In May the following year, Rutland requested of Cecil that he augment their commission of Oyer and Terminer because some men on his Council did not think that their present commission gave them enough power to execute certain penal statutes.³⁷

Rutland's presidency in the North gave him a limited amount of influence on the election of MPs for Yorkshire.

³⁶ PRO SP59/6, fo. 48 (CSPFS 1562, no. 184).

³⁷ Rutland MSS i, pp. 73, 77; PRO SP59/6, fos 21-2 (CSPFS 1562, no. 56).

The best example of this can be seen in the election, to the Parliament of 1563, of Thomas Disney for Borough-bridge, which was only a few miles away from Rutland's York headquarters. Disney had followed his uncle William into service with the first earl of Rutland, becoming initially his gentleman waiter and next his receiver. He was further a witness to the first earl's will and he continued in service to the second earl as receiver.³⁸

Various members of Rutland's Council of the North were also elected to represent various constituencies in Yorkshire. For example, Secretary Thomas Eynns who had been on the Council since 1542 was elected to represent Thirsk in Elizabeth's second Parliament, after having sat for it in her first (as well as having sat for other places under Mary). Christopher Estofte was also elected for the 1563 Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull.³⁹

However, his influence in various of the Midlands counties also continued though less so for Leicestershire. The Hasting influence reached its peak in Leicestershire during most of the reign of Elizabeth through the efforts of the third earl of Huntingdon. Rutland tried to take advantage of this influence by attempting to marry his eldest son, Edward, to one of Huntingdon's daughters. Early in 1560 he even chose

³⁸ This section relies heavily on Hasler. See Hasler i, p. 286; *ibid.* ii, pp. 40-1; BCA 11 (Rutland MSS iv, p. 284); PRO PROB 11/30, sig 28; BCA 67.

³⁹ Hasler i, p. 280 & passim.; *ibid.* ii, p. 95.

Clinton to act as his go-between in the matter. Though both parties were at first willing, the marriage never took place.⁴⁰ It is not surprising therefore that there is little evidence of Rutland's patronage for the elections in that county for the early Elizabethan Parliaments.⁴¹ However, the situation was different in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Rutland.

Rutland's brother, Roger, was elected as MP for Grantham for the 1563 Parliament. Anthony Thorold, who was elected as recorder of the city of Lincoln, also represented it in the Parliament of 1559. The mayor and aldermen of Lincoln apparently intended to choose Robert Monson, but had to give up their intentions when Rutland forced Thorold on them. He was a close friend of Rutland's and was, for example, appointed as one of the executors of his will.⁴² In addition, Robert Farrar was returned in the second place. It is apparent that the mayor's and aldermen's concern that Rutland should follow through with the fee farm transaction overrode their desire for independence in their elections. This is further evident from the fact that on numerous occasions afterwards they made efforts to get Rutland personally to acknowledge (in the Exchequer) the fine and recovery of

⁴⁰ BCL iii, fos 63-4 (Rutland MSS i, pp. 69-70) Edward waited until the early 1570s to get married at which time he wedded Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft of Vale Royal, Cheshire, DNB xii, p. 934.

⁴¹ See Hasler i, pp. 192-3.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 198-9; BCW 14. For transcription of will see appendix F of this thesis.

the fee farm and even enticed him by offering him a great horse and two fat oxen. Rutland finally came through in November 1559 though the dispute over the fee farm lasted well into the 1570s with the next earl of Rutland.⁴³ The city leaders were, however, able to nominate Monson for the next Parliament, though Farrar was returned again in the second place.⁴⁴

The Manners' influence also prevailed in the nomination for both seats in the elections for Nottinghamshire and Nottingham. This is not surprising considering his positions as constable of Nottingham Castle, warden of Sherwood Forest, lieutenant of both Nottinghamshire and Rutland, steward of Newark, and possibly high steward of Nottingham.⁴⁵

Sir John Markham, a friend of Rutland's, was returned as first knight of the shire for the Parliament of 1559, while Rutland's brother John was returned as second knight. He eventually became one of the leading forces in the neighbouring Derbyshire through his fortunate marriage to Dorothy Vernon through whom descended Haddon Hall and other estates in the same county. He was returned by Nottinghamshire for the next Parliament

⁴³ Lincs. Arc. L1/1/1/2, fos 142-150 & passim., for evidence of dispute in 1570s see ibid. L1/1/1/1, fo. 290; Hasler i. pp. 198-9.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Rutland MSS i, p. 88; Hasler i. p. 224-5 mentions that he was high steward.

also.⁴⁶ Rutland's servants Thomas Markham and John Bateman, the latter of whom was to be appointed as one of the earl's executors, were both returned by the borough of Nottingham for the first Parliament. John Bateman again appeared as MP for that borough in 1563. The Manners further continued to hold an enormous amount of influence in Nottinghamshire under the next earl of Rutland.⁴⁷

The Manners' influence in Rutland also continued. Rutland's former servant and Catholic associate Anthony Colly (who rejected the settlement of 1559) was, in 1563, returned for the county of Rutland -- a seat which he held during Edward's reign. Kenelm Digby was also again returned for the same county and though he almost certainly owed his return to his standing in the county, at the same time he was closely allied with Rutland and was even one of the executors of his will.⁴⁸

The commissions of the peace on which Rutland was appointed reflected his authority in the North and his influence in the Midlands. For example, in February 1562, he was appointed to the commissions of the peace

⁴⁶ Hasler i, pp. 222-3; ibid. iii, pp. 7-8. Haddon Hall is still in possession of the Manners family and is in fact one of the main residences of the present duke of Rutland. Numerous mss concerning the Vernon estates are in the Belvoir Castle muniment room; the Derbyshire connection was further strengthened when his brother-in-law, George Talbot (who married Gertrude) succeeded his father & became sixth earl of Shrewsbury in 1560, GEC xi, pp. 712-4.

⁴⁷ Hasler i, 222-5.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 229, 675-6; BCW 14.

for all three ridings of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Derbyshire, all of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Northumberland, and Rutland.⁴⁹

Rutland was not completely unrewarded for his efforts on behalf of the Crown. For example, his office of president of the Council of the North greatly heightened his national and local profile and he was granted a stipend of £1,000. Further, in 1562, Winchester was able to get him a twenty-one year lease (which was to be voided at his death) of various rectories and granges in Yorkshire which had a per annum value of about £42. This he used to help offset expenses.⁵⁰

However, his income was not able to keep up with his expenses.⁵¹ Out of the money he received as president, he had to keep up his household in the North and to pay his councillors. It is not known if he lost money due to this office or not, but Rutland did complain of lack of funds as was normal for officials who were commissioned to serve in the North. It was he who first approached Winchester about the possibility of obtaining a lease.⁵²

By this time, much of his land which was seized by

⁴⁹ CPR Eliz. ii, pp. 435-45.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 609.

⁵¹ See for sales, money borrowed, and recognizances: PRO C54/553, ms. 3-4, 10; ibid./557, m. 18; ibid./571, ms. 1-16; ibid./592, ms. 23-4; ibid./598, ms. 4, 8, 20; PRO LC4/188 fos. 466, 498; ibid./189, fos. 72, 116, 218.

⁵² PRO SP59/6, fo. 34 (CSPFS 1562, no. 137); Rutland had also earlier asked that his councillors be given allowances, PRO SP59/6, fo. 3 (CSPF 1562, no. 10).

creditors or which he sold outright was actually in the Midlands and in Yorkshire. Besides the Cornish lands which he had sold in 1559, the manors of Muston, Norman, and Shepshed in Leicestershire, and Bilsdale Kirkam, Skiplome Rievaulx, and lands in Wheldrake, Yorkshire, passed out of his hands.⁵³ However, perhaps due to services he had rendered to the Crown, Cecil, whom Rutland named as one of the executors of his will (and who was to hold the wardship of Edward Manners, the new earl of Rutland) was able successfully to petition Elizabeth to grant the sum of £1,800 to the Manners' estate a little over a year after Rutland's death. This was to be used to avoid the outright sale of some of this forfeited or mortgaged land.⁵⁴

A gradual reduction of income worsened Rutland's financial problems. A Crown survey (which most likely gives a conservative figure) taken after his death placed his per annum income at £2,485.⁵⁵ According to a valor taken in 1570, the lands possessed by the third earl were of the lesser annual value of £2012.⁵⁶ These figures are moderately less than the total receipts of £2399 which the first earl received in 1542.⁵⁷ The per annum income lost owing to the mortgaging which took place under Mary

⁵³ CPR Eliz. ii, pp. 145, 345, 581, 616.

⁵⁴ BCW 14; HMC, Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers (JP6) i, Shrewsbury MSS in Lambeth Palace Library (London, 1966), MSS SP59/6, fo. 3 (p. 38).

⁵⁵ PRO SC12/22/36; see also F&F, p. 171.

⁵⁶ BCA 1154. This figure includes reversions.

⁵⁷ BCA 301. This figure excludes £676 in arrearages.

and Elizabeth appears to have been partly offset by the value of his newly acquired coparceners' lands. However, one must also keep in mind that inflation, by 1570, was such that a figure of £2012 would certainly have been worth less than it had been in 1542.

After the second earl's death his executors calculated that the allowances and payments to be made totalled nearly £9,500. Towards this, just over £3,300 was raised from the sale of woods, and further, the earl was owed just under £600 by various persons. Rutland's estate was therefore out of pocket about £5,600 in cash,⁵⁸ the equivalent of about two and one-third times the nominal per annum value of the Manners' estates.

However, at the same time, Rutland's financial standing, when compared with that of the other peers, remained quite high. The average assessed annual income from lands held by peers for the first payment of the subsidy of 1559 (the last before his death) was £750 compared with that of £1,200 for Rutland. Again, though in absolute terms these assessments were highly under valued, they do give us a good indication of wealth in comparative terms. He was assessed for the same amount for the second payment though the average for the peerage stood at the lesser amount of £684. The highest assessed income for the second payment was that of the Stanleys which stood at £2,400, twice as large as Rutland's

⁵⁸ BCA 154; ibid. 884.

income.⁵⁹

Wardship was, however, the main factor which greatly decreased the income of the third earl. As may be remembered, this had been the case with the second earl during his minority. Earl Edward lost rents due to provisions for various members of his family as well as, this time, to the Crown for wardship.⁶⁰

Rutland, still in office as president of the Council of the North, died on 17 September 1563, after a few months' illness, at the age of almost thirty-seven. Because of the problem with the plague in London at the time it was suggested that he be buried quickly and without pomp and that a larger ceremony be held later in London after the fear of plague had subsided. He was therefore soon buried in Bottesford church.⁶¹ Over his grave was erected a magnificent alabaster monument which survives today in a remarkably fine condition. Proudly displayed on its side after his name is the title of his last and greatest office. The monument's large and gaudy structure (opposed to the more refined and understated features of his father's monument) is perhaps reflective of the relatively youthful and energetic nobleman for

⁵⁹ PRO E179/69/12, 78-9; "Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century", pp. 15-34.

⁶⁰ PRO SC12/22/36; see also F&F, p. 171.

⁶¹ PRO SP12/30, no. 1 (for a brief summary see: CSPD 1547-80, no. 1); There is no evidence that he died of the plague as some authorities indicate (see for example, GEC xi, p. 257). This error was made merely because of a misreading of this ms.

whom it was in commemoration.⁶² One cannot also help but imagine that it serves to remind one of the rise in political prominence of a family who had just earlier in the century merely been local Northumberland notables.

As can be seen, Rutland came into immediate favour with Elizabeth. Due to his land holding, his previous experience, and his religious sympathies, Elizabeth trusted him with the office of president of the Council of the North. Through this office he once again demonstrated loyalty to the Crown in implementing its policies and orders. At the same time as he was able to wield power in that area his influence remained strong in the north-east Midlands. Though his office holding was not without its rewards, nevertheless, his expenses exceeded his income. This situation was not fatal, though it caused his debts to rise. He had earlier sold or mortgaged land in less politically important areas but during Elizabeth's reign much of the land alienated was in Yorkshire and the north-east Midlands. However, in relation to contemporary members of the nobility his income remained quite high. Further, it had risen immensely from what it had been during the early days of the reign of Henry VIII. The unfortunate early death of the earl again left another minor in charge of the

⁶² An oil painting of the second earl also exists at Belvoir Castle, which has been placed next to that of his father. The second earl appears very young and almost boyish. He died a few years before his 40th birthday.

Manners' fortune. However, the family was temporarily left in the able hands of Queen Elizabeth's leading statesman, William Cecil, future Lord Burghley.

By the death of the second earl it was on him that the Manners, who had been exiled just over half a century earlier, had come a long way. They were able to accomplish this through their acquisition of land in various countries by office-holding, by securing various crown appointments, and through their involvement and influence in central politics. To help them in each of these factors was an extensive network of friends, servants, and relatives all of whom worked together to make the Manners' "rehabilitation" successful and who also helped them to establish an even higher power-base. Yet to assess successfully the achievement of the mid-Tudor Manners, one needs to put them in perspective. At the same time one can take a new insight on England during the same period. While it would be difficult to find a mid-Tudor noble family that is "typical" in every way, the Manners in some respects fulfill this role.

One is tempted to see the accelerated growth of the peerage as a counterpart to the general rise in population in the first half of the sixteenth century. When

¹ I am borrowing this word from R. H. Bates, *The English Noble Household, 1500-1600: Social Organization and Political Participation* (Oxford, 1980), see throughout for an interesting discussion of the matter.

**CONCLUSION:
THE ACHIEVEMENT IN PERSPECTIVE**

By the death of the second earl it was obvious that the Manners, who had been ennobled just over half a century earlier, had come a long way. They were able to accomplish this through their acquisition of land in various counties, by office-holding, by accepting the Crown's religious orientation, and through their involvement and influence in central politics. To help them in each of these factors was an intricate network of friends, servants, and relatives all of whom worked together to make the Manners' "corporation"¹ successful and who also helped them to establish an east-Midlands power-base. Yet to assess successfully the achievement of the mid-Tudor Manners, one needs to put them in perspective. At the same time one can gain a new insight on England during the same period. While it would be difficult to find a mid-Tudor noble family that is "typical" in every way, the Manners in some respects fulfill this role.

One is tempted to see the numerical growth of the peerage as a counterpart to the general rise in population in the first half of the sixteenth century. When

¹ I am borrowing this word from: K. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Political Rule (Oxford, 1988); see throughout for an interesting discussion of the matter.

Henry VIII ascended to the throne, there were merely one duke, one marquess, ten earls, and thirty barons. Sir George was soon to join this small group of forty-two noblemen. In 1525, the year of Thomas Lord Roos' elevation to the earldom of Rutland, the overall figure rose to fifty. There were three dukes, two marquesses, eleven earls, three viscounts, and thirty-one barons.² It was among this small group of an ennobled elite that the Manners would make their mark on Tudor England.

Though the Manners were raised to a higher rank within the peerage in the sixteenth century, it has been shown that they became part of the older nobility due to the fortunate marriage to a Roos heiress. This was not the usual means of baronial inheritance, but it was not unknown. Two other early Tudor noblemen received their titles through an heiress.

There was Ralph Scrope who received the barony of Scrope of Upsall through his niece Alice, wife of Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton. The second example is that of the Parkers. Alice Lovell, sole heir of Henry Lovell, Lord Morley was able to pass on a barony through her first husband, Sir William Parker. Though Sir William (like Edmund Lord Roos) was never summoned to Parliament, their son Henry became the new Lord Morley after his death.³

A rarer case than those who gained their baronies

² Henry VIII and the English Nobility, pp. 7, 259-63.

³ Ibid., p. 11.

through the female side was that of the Clintons. They had a fifty-year intermission before a member of their family was summoned to Parliament -- from the death of John Lord Clinton in 1464 to the creation of Thomas Fiennes de Clinton as the eighth Lord Clinton in 1514. Though the cases of the Manners, Clintons, Parkers, and the Scropes were unusual, they were still considered peers by inheritance and were therefore part of the older nobility. Others such as the duke of Suffolk came from humbler backgrounds and were the creations of Henry VIII.⁴

However, the future earl of Rutland was in a good position since he was both a friend of Henry VIII and also had a vast inheritance. Early in his reign Henry VIII rarely gave outright gifts of land, but instead chose to advance Court favourites through cancellation of various recognizances, bonds, and debts. He also reversed attainders and reinstated a few noblemen to possessions which had earlier been confiscated by the Crown.

In regard to the latter, after the attainder of Empson and Dudley, Henry restored to the countess of Kent various manors (during her lifetime) which Richard Grey, earl of Kent, had earlier made over to the Crown because of financial difficulties. In 1512, George Neville, Lord Bergavenny was given livery of property of which Richard,

⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-2.

earl of Warwick, had dispossessed his grandmother, and which had afterwards come to the Crown.⁵ It was in this context that Sir George Manners was granted the 700 marks issuing from Roos lands and payable to the king. This was a good indication that Sir George was one of a select group who were in favour with the king.

The Roos property, which had come to the family through an important marriage connection helped to establish the Manners' interests in the north-east Midlands as well as in the North. This was augmented when the first earl acquired monastic land from the Crown -- creating for his family an economic peak which was not surpassed by the Manners throughout the Tudor period. The second earl was able to acquire lesser amounts of land, but his economic pursuits were dominated by trying to pay off debts, which were on the increase.

Inheritance through this unusual means helped to give the Manners a total landed estate worth just under £1,500 per annum and the antiquity of the Roos peerage placed Thomas Lord Roos as the highest ranking baron. After his creation as earl of Rutland, his service to the Crown, especially during the rebellions of 1536, enabled him to acquire large amounts of monastic land.

From this time until near his death, Rutland was able to increase his landed property considerably. In fact, the rise in wealth of the Manners was like that of

⁵ Ibid., pp. 208-9.

the new nobility of Henry VIII. Some of these new peers during their lifetimes rose from gentry or middle class to great noblemen. The stereotypical new Henrician peer was John Russell, created lord Russell by Henry and earl of Bedford by Edward VI, whose grandfather earlier in the reign was supposed to have possessed an income worth £40. However, Bedford, at his death, was able to bequeath lands valued over £2,000 to the next earl. By 1544 he appeared in a royal musterbook as one of the top nine landowners.⁶

Rutland was surely in a good position to reap material rewards from the Dissolution. He had been the patron of various monasteries and steward of their lands. However, as was the practice during the Dissolution, the land reverted to the Crown and not to the patrons. It was therefore fortunate for Rutland that he was able to obtain, as a gift, the site of the dissolved abbey of Warter on 2 September, 1536, of which he had been hereditary patron, as well as steward of its Lincolnshire lands.⁷

Others were much less fortunate. For example Essex was an hereditary patron of Beeleigh Abbey. He offered 1,000 marks for it in 1536, but it happened that this was below the fair market price and Cromwell refused to grant

⁶ D. Willen, John Russell, First Earl of Bedford, One of the King's Men (London, 1981), p. 101.

⁷ Henry VIII and the English Nobility, p. 234; PRO C82/716

his request.⁸

Rutland's involvement soon afterward in quelling the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace brought further rewards as it did to other noblemen who backed the King. Henry ordered the nobility to arms: Norfolk and Suffolk, Exeter, and Shrewsbury, Derby, Arundel, and Huntingdon. Various of these noblemen received grants of land following their involvement in the quashing of the rebels in 1536. For example, Shrewsbury, who played a key role, obtained the various abbeys of Buildwas, Combermere, Shrewsbury, Welbeck, and Wilton. He further obtained the priories of Tutbury and Wenlock. Rutland, who received Beverley, Chartley, Croxton, Garradon, Numbarnholme, and Rievaulx, certainly could not complain.⁹

Gifts to noblemen were at their peak from June 1536 to the end of 1539. However, most noblemen received nothing. The most to gain from the gifts during this time were the nobility above the rank of baron created by Henry VIII, nearly all of whom received gifts of land. One-half of the rest of this group, all of whom were important office-holders or important forces in central politics, also received gifts of land. Further, high noblemen, if they were given land, tended to obtain several grants rather than just one. Most barons, on the

⁸ S.J. Gunn, "Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (1472-1540)" in The Tudor Nobility, ed. G.W. Bernard (Manchester, 1992), p. 145.

⁹ Robert Lacey. The Life and Times of Henry VIII (London, 1972), p. 162.

other hand did not receive any gifts of land. It was in this context that Rutland was granted his monastic lands including the gift of Warter.¹⁰

However, influence at Court became much less of a factor after December 1539 when Henry appointed Cromwell and Rich to sell lands up to £6,000 in capital value. Also during this time gifts became rare once again and sales and exchanges were the norm.¹¹

The death of the first earl of Rutland in 1543 meant that he would not be able to take part in the war against Scotland in 1544 and would not be the beneficiary of lands given -- as pure gifts, or in exchange, or by way of sale -- to noblemen such as Wriothesley, Wharton, Eure, Lisle, and Lord Grey of Wilton. For if Sir Richard Manners because of his service in the war against Scotland in 1545 he was allowed to purchase in 1547 former religious properties for just under £500 surely his noble brother, had he lived, would have had the potential of doing much better.

1,593 grants were made during the whole of the reign of Henry VIII involving lands worth £90,000 per annum. The vast majority of these were sales, with only 41 being outright gifts. The number of grantees was roughly 1,000. Of the grants made to peers, only eight were pure gifts, but a number of others included partial gifts.

¹⁰ Henry VIII and the English Nobility, p. 247.

¹¹ Ibid.

Altogether, 124 grants were made to 38 peers, the total land value being £16,000 per annum. The rest of the property was granted to corporations spiritual (£20,000 per annum) and lay, crown officials, augmentation officials, new court officials, the king's servants, lawyers, physicians, clerks, yeomen, industrial entrepreneurs, and miscellaneous men of uncertain identity (totalling £23,500 per annum for this last category alone).¹²

Further, Rutland was among a relatively small group of peers and commoners who received grants of land worth £200 or more per annum. The remaining peers were: Essex (Thomas Cromwell), Norfolk, Audeley, Wriothesley, Hertford, Suffolk, Shrewsbury (George and Francis), St. John, Russell, Lisle (John Dudley), Wharton, Clinton, Sussex, and Howard. Rutland himself was high up in this list since he received lands worth over £1,000 per annum. The commoners in this group numbered just under thirty and included Sir Richard Gresham. He was the largest purchaser in Henry's reign. In October 1540 alone he purchased Crown property in Yorkshire for £11,137.¹³ He illustrates the fact that wealthy city men could spend more money on land purchase and speculation than could peers.

¹² H.A.L. Fisher. The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII, 1485-1547, (London, 1906), pp. 499-500.

¹³ Ibid; BCA 301.

The first earl's untimely death also meant that he would not be poised to reap the rewards early in Edward's reign. Unlike Henry VIII, Edward VI's government saw fit to give numerous gifts of land. In fact, the Crown received in total just under £425,000 from the sales of land during Edward's reign while it gave away properties with the slightly lesser capital value of £408,489.¹⁴

Concerning the gifts themselves in Edward's reign, a disproportionally large percentage of these were made to great officers of state and other important officers of the Crown who received altogether 58.16% of the total gifts. However, the older nobility, including Rutland, were almost completely left out of the picture. They received only about 7% or £28,741, and out of this £6,356 went to Clinton alone. The beneficiaries of the largess were, for the most part, the new nobility and the upper gentry.¹⁵ Northumberland received gifts of land worth just under £2,000 per annum. Lands he received in exchange were valued at a little over £3,150, not to mention the over £500 per annum worth of lands his sons received in gifts also during Edward's reign.¹⁶

Of 660 Crown manors given, nearly two-thirds were received by seventeen men, all but two being greater or lesser officers of state, many of whom were of the new

¹⁴ The Young King, pp. 104, 112.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 113.

¹⁶ B.L. Beer. Northumberland (Kent State Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 183-187.

nobility or gentry. These included Northumberland with eighty-eight manors, Somerset with sixty-three, Pembroke with fifty-one, Thomas Seymour with forty-eight, Paulet with twenty-eight, Sir John Gates with thirteen, Cheke with twelve, and Parr and Cecil with eight each.¹⁷ This illustrated vividly that the old nobility were deliberately neglected by the Edwardian regime.

Further, though in fact the earls of Rutland were among the members of the old peerage, they were also amongst a group of ten families who were ennobled in the first half of Henry VIII's reign including the Conyers, Somerset (Worcester), Mounteagle, Morley, Sandys of the Vyne, Vaux of Harrowden, Bray, Wentworth, and Windsor.¹⁸ Like the Manners, these families were, for the most part, left out of the inner circle in Edward's reign, though Lord Wentworth did become lord chamberlain of the Household a few months before his death in 1551. Rutland as a member of this group did well to secure the lieutenancy of the North and to receive his own band of men-at-arms.¹⁹

Rutland, then, was both a member of the old nobility and was from a family who were ennobled early in Henry VIII's reign -- both groups of whom were fairly ignored

¹⁷ The Young King, p. 116.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 96-7. Professor Jordan ignores the fact that technically Rutland was a member of the old nobility and he perhaps underestimates his military importance in Edward's reign.

by the Edwardian regime. This is not to suggest that Rutland's membership in these groups caused political neglect, but merely to illustrate a general trend. Of the early Henrician peers Wentworth was by far the major beneficiary, receiving lands with a capital value just under £3,900. The rest of the grants to this group were minor, and in fact when added together they total (not average) only £1,000 in capital value.²⁰

Land could also be exchanged with the Crown. In the reign of Edward, a total of fifty-four individuals and institutions were involved in seventy-eight transactions of this kind. The net value of the Crown land conveyed was just over £3,100 per annum or a total capital value just above £62,000. Generally, though the Crown's motive in most of the exchanges is uncertain, the private owner was moved to exchange property in order to consolidate his property. Also, the new owners often realized a modest net profit in the exchange.²¹

Though Rutland's plight during Edward's reign was typical for members of the older nobility or for those noblemen created early in Henry's reign, yet he was not totally ignored. His large exchange with the Crown in which the Crown cancelled debts of just over £2,150 and paid him approximately £530 is proof of this. Rutland gave up all of his decaying Northumberland property

²⁰ The Young King, p. 98.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 122-3.

(which for defensive purposes may have been of some use to the Crown, but was useless to the Manners), as well as minor lands and manors in the Midlands. Overall, the exchange benefited both sides.²²

The Crown therefore was certainly interested in reducing the young earl's debt and was preparing him for higher things. In fact his youth and, consequently, limited political weight lessened his ability to make his mark on Tudor politics at this time. This was the main cause rather than his membership in various groups of nobility. The young duke of Suffolk (Brandon) was also "neglected" in the distribution of royal bounty, not because he belonged to a particular category of the nobility, but because he was very young -- admittedly, considerably younger than Rutland. Rutland's political and military involvement did increase throughout Edward's reign but was cut short and hampered for some time after his involvement in the Lady Jane Grey affair.

Again, as one can see, his uncle was able to purchase a modest amount of chantry property. But even this was to come to an end because in that year [1547] the second earl came of age and he now naturally supplanted Sir Richard's temporary headship of the family. However, owing mainly to his young age, inexperience, possibly also his restrained personality, and he was considered a junior partner and was thus not able to reap the huge

²² PRO C65/155.

propertied rewards that others received from the Edwardian regime. A number of the old nobles were drawn into the governing group, especially under Northumberland: not only Clinton, but also Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Dorset (created duke of Suffolk), Westmoreland, and Cobham. They did not all receive large gifts of land as was shown, but they got offices and influence.

Though Rutland was never brought into the high corridors of power, the Edwardian regime did rely upon his power and influence in the Midlands as well as in the North. They therefore wooed him through land transactions (not to mention grants of office).

The Marian regime also gently wooed the earl through similar means when Rutland was granted the coparceners' lands by the Crown. This is all the more striking since gifts of land were rarely given by this regime, unlike the situation under Edward.

With Belvoir Castle now fully rebuilt and with Rutland's new-found high favour under Elizabeth, it is conceivable that had he lived to a ripe old age, his financial position could have stabilized. As it turned out, another minor was left as heir to the Manners' fortune and he had to support his brothers and sisters including Elizabeth and John along with his mother and to some degree some of his numerous aunts and uncles. However, Elizabeth, like her predecessors, was willing to reward the Manners for faithful service to the Crown by

cancelling nearly £1,800 of debt accumulated by the second earl for which the executors of the third earl were accountable.

The Manners obviously experienced a large rise in landed property during the early and throughout much of the Mid-Tudor period. This ranged from a low of property worth approximately £100 per annum in the early Tudor period to a high of about £2,400 at the death of the first earl of Rutland.²³ This, of course, was slowly to decrease under the second earl as property was alienated to pay off debts.

In relative terms, the Manners appear to have achieved an even greater rise in wealth. In 1523, Lord Roos was assessed at £151 per annum and the average assessed per annum income from lands for a member of the peerage was £801. For the first payment of the subsidy of 1559 the average assessed income was £750 compared with Rutland's assessment of £1,200. Rutland was assessed for the same amount for the second payment though the average for the peerage stood at the lesser amount of £684. This clearly shows not only a personal rise in landed wealth, but also a rise in comparative

²³ BCA 301 (excluding £676 in arrearages). The family possessed about £1,500 per annum in lands before the Dissolution and they gained over £1,000 per annum in monastic lands. When added together, this is slightly over the £2,400 sum, rather than the expected £2,500 plus. The explanation lay in the fact that the first earl exchanged some of his Roos lands with the Crown in order to obtain some of the former religious property. Note that all figures are conservative.

terms. However, one also has to remember that under-assessment became worse as time went on and, secondly, that the progress of inflation makes comparisons over a number of years difficult.²⁴

The holdings of the Manners rivalled that of the mighty De Vere earls of Oxford. In 1540 the family owned lands to the value of £2,063 per annum though in 1551-2 this rose to £3,914 per annum.²⁵

Though the Manners were amongst the wealthier group of noble families, there were certainly a few families who were able to out-shine them. The best example of this is the Stanleys who were given the highest assessment for the second payment of the subsidy of 1559. Their assessment was £2,400, or twice that of Rutland's.²⁶

As we have seen, service to the monarch was certainly one major factor in a peer's ability to gain property in the mid-Tudor period. One of the best ways of doing this was through loyal office-holding. Just as the Manners were wooed at various times by the Crown by gifts or sales of land, they were also wooed in a similar fashion with offices.

For the nobility, office-holding was a way of in-

²⁴ PRO E179/69/12, 78-9; "Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century", pp. 15-34.

²⁵ However, in 1498-9 their lands were valued at £1,667; "Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex", p. 152 (for these figures Gunn refers to Essex Record Office D/DPr 135a,140 and PRO SC11/919).

²⁶ Ibid.

creasing one's influence in the counties. Offices such as warden of Sherwood Forest, constable of Nottingham Castle, and lord lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, remained in the Manners' family, for the most part, throughout the Tudor period. These offices were located in the North-east Midlands and through these the Manners were able to promote their friends and servants while, at the same time, strengthening their power-base. It can be remembered that one of the first earl's most prominent roles during the 1536 rebellions was to defend Nottingham Castle. This major success certainly heightened his profile in that region. Successive earls depended on the power-base which the first two had created or strengthened.

Other peers held similar types of offices in strategic locations. Such was the case with Edward Stanley, third earl of Derby. He was lord lieutenant of Lancaster from 1552 till his death in 1572. He was also vice-admiral of Lancashire and Cheshire from 1553-1569. In 1559 he was appointed chamberlain of Chester and on a commission for visitation of the churches in the provinces of York. Just over three years later he was appointed commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in the diocese of Chester. Further, he served as lord lieutenant of Cheshire from 1569 till his death. His son and heir, Henry, the next earl of Derby, was also lord lieutenant of Lancaster and Chester from 1572 until his death

and vice-admiral of the same counties from 1573.

The family had been a major force in the area largely owing to a fortunate marriage of the third earl's great-great grandfather, Sir John Stanley, to Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Waltham in the late fourteenth century. This placed the lordship of much of the hundred of West Derby, Lancashire, in the family's hands.²⁷ Other peers held offices in strategic locations.

Westmorland was lord lieutenant of the Bishopric of Durham from May 1552. He was also steward for life of, among other things, Galtres Forest, Yorkshire, from 1557.²⁸ These offices certainly reflected Westmorland's Northern interests.

Humphrey, first Lord Dacre (from the family later referred to as "of the North") was appointed chief forester of Inglewood Forest in 1470. His grandson, William the third Lord Dacre was made captain of Norham Castle in 1523. He was also appointed steward of Penrith and of other manors.²⁹

Some of the Talbots' offices certainly helped to heighten their presence in various strategic areas. Francis, the fifth earl, was appointed lord lieutenant of Derbyshire and Yorkshire in 1551. He was appointed to be keeper (for life) of all the royal castles in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire the next year. In 1557 he was

²⁷ GEC iv, pp. 209-11; DNB xviii, pp. 937-9, 962-5.

²⁸ GEC XII ii, pp. 555-8.

²⁹ Ibid. iv, pp. 18-22.

appointed to be lieutenant general in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, Lancaster, Chester, Nottinghamshire, and Derby, as well as in the Bishopric of Durham. The next earl was appointed lord-lieutenant of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire in the 1560s.³⁰ These offices certainly reflected the power of the Talbots in the North and in the Midlands and also served to heighten their profiles in those areas. In this way, the Talbots, though they were greater in power than the Manners, exhibited a pattern of strengthening power-bases, office-holding, and land-owning which was very similar in nature to that of the latter.

Sometimes offices such as captainships of various castles were entrusted to certain families. For example, Robert fourth Lord Ogle was made captain of Norham Castle from 1519 (and of Wark Castle from 1523). The office of captain or constable of Norham Castle was nothing new to the family and had in fact been entrusted to various earlier family members.³¹ Such was the case with the captainship of Nottingham castle which was held by successive heads of the Manners' family in the sixteenth century.

The Manners' involvement in military or quasi-military offices centred in France and in the North. Their experience with France appears to have been fairly

³⁰ *Ibid.* xi, pp. 710-12; *DNB* xix, p. 314.

³¹ *GEC* x, pp. 29-37.

typical of a Tudor nobleman. Many members of the Tudor elite viewed it as an honour to fight for king and country on the soil of their arch-enemy. The family tradition began in earnest early with Sir George's French involvement. This continued in the family and they appeared to be eager to serve whenever the chance arose, as was the case with numerous other noble families.

Even Rutland's enthusiasm in regard to the French involvement at the end of Mary's reign was intense despite the fact that the war was unpopular in England. Pembroke, who led the English expeditionary force to Calais was actually lukewarm about a war against the French and was skeptical of King Philip's position. Pembroke even stated at a later date that no one in the Marian Council actually approved of the involvement.³² This, of course, did not keep men such as Rutland and Pembroke from serving. A chance to serve in France was an opportunity which few Mid-Tudor noblemen could refuse.

The Mannors were less enthusiastic about serving in the North. They shared this sentiment with other Tudor noblemen. Serving in the North could be expensive, harsh, and life-threatening. The first earl of Rutland wrote his will before going North in the early 1540s and the second followed suit by writing his will before journeying northward as President of the Council of the

³² N.P. Sil, William Lord Herbert of Pembroke (c.1507-1570) Politique and Patriot (Lewiston, N.Y., 1988), p. 112.

North. Both earls became sick while in their northern offices and died as a result. Both also complained of lack of money. The first earl even refused the office of warden early in 1537 just after Westmorland had refused a similar office. The second earl of Rutland wanted to leave his post as lieutenant of the North and warden of the east and middle marches after he had only been in office a few months. Other noblemen had similar northern experiences.

The first earl of Cumberland, like the earls of Rutland, served as warden sporadically on the borders. A nobleman who lived and served in the North, he was warden of the west marches in 1525 though he was dismissed three years later. Rutland's first encounter also met with unfavourable results. Cumberland agreed to accept the position again in 1534 though he was apparently "loth" so to do and he resigned in 1537.³³ From time to time other wardens even threatened to withdraw from the marches when the exchequer failed to provide the necessary funds.³⁴

Other noble families had a tradition of serving in the North. Of course, prominent families such as the Talbots, the Percies, and the Nevilles held important leadership positions there from time to time though this

³³ "The First Earl of Cumberland: A Reputation Reassessed," pp. 64, 93. Cumberland was given a titular position as warden of the same after his resignation.

³⁴ R.R. Reid, "The Office of Warden of the Marches; Its Origin and Early History," in English Historical Review, 32, 1917, p. 492.

hegemony was shared with or superseded by other Tudor families.

William Lord Conyers was on a commission to treat with the Scots in 1512. He fought at Flodden and served in Scotland under Shrewsbury in 1522. His grandson, John Lord Conyers was warden of the west marches and governor of Carlisle in Edward's reign. Under Mary, he was warden of the east marches and governor of Berwick.³⁵

The Dacres (of the North) had, of course, long been involved on the borders. Thomas Lord Dacre was appointed lieutenant of the west marches in 1486 and he appears to have been continuously involved in the North until his death in 1525. His son William was appointed warden of the west marches from 1527-1534. Further, he was appointed warden of the west marches and governor of Carlisle from 1549 to 1551 and from 1554 until his death in 1563 he was first warden of the west and middle marches and then of the west marches only.³⁶

William Eure (first Lord Eure from 1544) was appointed lieutenant of the middle marches and marshall of the rear section of the army against the Scots, both in 1523. He was also warden of the east marches from before 1538 till his death ten years later. His son, Sir Ralph Eure, was warden of the middle marches. Sir Ralph's son, William second Lord Eure, held the same office as well as

³⁵ GEC iii, pp. 404-5.

³⁶ Ibid. iv, pp. 20-2.

the captaincy of Berwick Castle during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. The third Lord Eure also carried on the family tradition when he was appointed warden of the middle marches in 1586.³⁷

By the time Sir Robert Ogle was created Lord Ogle in 1461, the family had already been very active in the North. This tradition continued throughout the Tudor period.³⁸ They were a northern family and the Crown knew that they could be relied upon for their important connections and influence there.

The greatest northern position which the Manners occupied was of course the second earl's office of President of the Council of the North. Because of the prestige of the office, the second earl appeared far less eager to vacate it than he did his 1549 service. Rutland essentially became Queen Elizabeth's chief servant in the North. He began to implement, though with very little short term results due to the conservative nature of the North, the Elizabethan policy of converting the North to Protestantism.

Huntingdon, who was appointed to the same position in 1572, was able to be more effective. This was due to various factors. The Reformation had spread further by that time owing to such great Scottish leaders as John Knox. Huntingdon, himself, held strong Puritan views,

³⁷ Ibid. v, pp. 179-181.

³⁸ Ibid. ix, pp. 28-37.

and probably even more important, he held the office for twenty-three years. Rutland, who was adept at weathering the political and religious challenges of the Mid-Tudor period may have been hesitant in trying fiercely to implement the Elizabethan religious settlement. In any case, his death, less than two years after he was appointed to the office, halted any attempts he may have been making. Huntingdon appears to have been driven by a sincere desire to spread a religion to which he himself had converted, while Rutland's conscience is far less clear to the twentieth century historian. It is more certain, however that the Manners were eager to acquiesce in the royal will and generally to be used where needed.³⁹

Though the Manners held extensive estates in the North, they were not considered permanent members of the power structure there. However, they were regarded as a family who could, in times of crisis, be very useful in the North.

Mainly through the influence of Sir Thomas Lovell, the Manners had earlier been able to have an insight into Court politics. This began in the reign of Henry VII, though much higher favour was gained under Henry VIII. This was shown at the outset of his reign when he granted Sir George an annuity of 700 marks, though the political future of the family was set with the bestowing on Thomas

³⁹ For more information on Huntingdon's involvement in the North see: C. Cross, The Puritan Earl (London, 1966), pp. 159 et passim.

Lord Roos of the earldom of Rutland. The new earl continued the family practice of loyal and effective service to the Crown and this was further implemented by the next earl.

In particular, Earl Henry remained a secondary force in Court politics and backed the forces in power. He also relied on important Court connections, including that of Winchester. Despite being on the losing side during the Lady Jane Grey affair, he was able to come to terms with the Marian regime by displaying his loyalty to the new monarch and by demonstrating his usefulness. This was followed by higher favour under Elizabeth.

The Manners never rose to the highest rank of political leaders during the Tudor period. They certainly never, for example, obtained the power or influence of Thomas Cromwell, the duke of Somerset (or even of his brother the Lord Admiral), John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, Rich, Sir Thomas More, or even of such elite figures as Suffolk, Northampton, or Audley. At least in regard to central politics, the Manners' lot in life was to serve. They rarely drew attention to themselves, nor were they able to usurp large amounts of power as were many of the above men, at least in the short term.

The first and second earls of Rutland can be compared and also contrasted to Henry Bourchier earl of Essex with more success. In 1534 he was assessed at £850 while the mean was £921. Most of his estates were

centred in Essex and he increasingly became focused on affairs in that county. Though from a branch of a great family, his biographer wrote of him that he:

was never one of the few noble statesmen who jostled for power with the clerical and legal civil servants and knightly courtiers of the early Tudor Court and Council.⁴⁰

Essex's situation was close to that of the second earl of Rutland who was never on the Privy Council and who never held high office in London. However, the first earl of Rutland, of course, had been more active at Court.

In fact, the first major break-through in high politics for Thomas Lord Roos came just after the trial of the duke of Buckingham. Lord Roos was, of course, on the panel. In a rare display of largesse for the early reign of Henry VIII, most of the members of the trial panel for the duke of Buckingham including Norfolk, Worcester, Devon, Dorset, Suffolk, Ferrers, and Essex received gifts from the Crown of Buckingham's former lands.⁴¹ Roos, though on the panel, received no landed property. However, what he did receive was perhaps more significant in the long run. He was appointed one of the king's cupbearers by December 1521.⁴² This was to lead to greater things.

Neither of the earls of Rutland held any of the five

⁴⁰ "Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex," p. 135.

⁴¹ Henry VIII and the English Nobility, pp. 214-5.

⁴² BL Add MS 21,116, fo. 1.

great hereditary offices of state which were: great chamberlain, great constable, earl marshal, high steward, and butler, though these were, for the most part monopolized by the high nobility during Henry's reign. Nor did they hold any of the four offices above these: lord chancellor, lord treasurer, president of the Council, and lord privy seal.⁴³

The office of lord chamberlain was originally responsible for the supervision of the part of the king's household that was upstairs. This made it one of the premier offices of the household. The chamberlains in Henry's household had always been noblemen as they were in his queens' households.⁴⁴

In Henry's reign from 1526 the lord chamberlains of the king's household were William Lord Sandys of the Vyne, St. John, and Arundel.⁴⁵ After Henry's initial marriage Thomas Lord Ormond was the queen's chamberlain, who was replaced by William Blount, Lord Mountjoy in 1512. Mountjoy was given an annuity of £66 13s. 4d. Anne Boleyn's chamberlain was Thomas Lord Burgh who was a relatively new peer. Rutland, of course, was chamberlain to the next three queens, while William Lord Parr was chamberlain to his sister.⁴⁶

The office would naturally have fallen in dignity

⁴³ See Henry VIII and the English Nobility, pp. 164-72, for more information about these offices.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 173-7.

⁴⁵ The Early Tudors, p. 649.

⁴⁶ Henry VIII and the English Nobility, pp. 176-7.

below that of lord chamberlain of the king's household, but it did mean that Rutland held one of the premier offices in the households of half of Henry VIII's wives. Though chamberlains were always noblemen, the office was not reserved only for members of the old nobility. However, members of the old nobility, such as Rutland and Arundel certainly made their mark.

When compared with other members of the old nobility, it can be seen that the first earl of Rutland was rather successful in central politics. The older nobility faced fierce competition from new peers by the 1530s for offices in central administration as well as in the household. In fact it was only Rutland, along with Sussex and Arundel, who were successful. Sussex was a member of the Council when he was created great chamberlain and Arundel took oaths of office both for the king's chamberlain and counsellour on the same day. However, Rutland was the only one of the triad not to hold high office concurrently with that of Privy Counsellour.⁴⁷

Certainly during the Mid-Tudor period, the influence of the Manners in the provinces was of great importance and in order to facilitate this they relied on what has now been termed "networking" in order to build power-bases. The building of power-bases was a prominent feature of noble political life during this period. We

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 177.

have seen that the Hastings, Greys, and Manners had influence in Leicestershire but that the Hastings soon come to dominate the county. With the inheriting of land in Lincolnshire the Brandons became the prominent force there. The Talbots, whose power-base extended across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, seemed to be content to allow the Manners to dominate the former. Perhaps marriage associations and official as well as personal contacts helped make the transition relatively smooth. As has been shown, the Talbots and the Manners were closely related and they had served together in various official functions. However, more so than the Manners, the Talbots focused also on the North. They even welcomed a marriage alliance with the Percys to facilitate this.⁴⁸

Contacts including family, friends, and servants proved to be important for a nobleman not only politically, but militarily as well. Various of Rutland's servants, relatives, and friends helped not only to man the Rutland "corporation", but also came to his aid during times of high military or political involvement. This was most graphically illustrated during and just after the Lady Jane Grey crisis when Rutland was able to rely upon Giles Bigges, Robert Farrar, and George Lascelles, among numerous others. But there are also other examples.

⁴⁸ The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility, p. 6.

Sir George Lord Roos was able to bring his men with him for the French war of 1513, as was the medieval practice. The second earl of Rutland was able to use his servants in his band of men-at-arms, in the Scottish war of 1559/60, and he asked for their support in the French war of 1557/8. There were limits to what servants would do as was the case with the earl of Oxford when various of his servants made him change sides and declare for Mary Tudor and with Rutland when his tenants in Yorkshire revolted during the northern rebellion of 1536 -- so much so that he feared he would not get that year's rents. The second earl had difficulty in raising troops for the 1557/8 French war despite his obvious determination to serve the Crown. However, many of his servants followed his lead in the Lady Jane Grey affair.

The determination of the Manners to serve the Crown was also evident in their willingness to support the Crown's religious establishments. The Manners' actions demonstrate that they held obedience to the Crown's version of Christianity as a higher good than expression of their own private consciences, whatever that may have been.

Though originally from a Catholic family from the conservative North, the first earl was drawn into Henry VIII's religious policy. The second earl, in turn, was associated with various Protestants and he backed the Edwardian religious settlement. His eagerness to come to

terms with the Marian regime led him publicly to endorse the English Counter-Reformation, though at the same time he did retain some Protestant connections. His past religious (as well as political) associations in Edward's reign in part helped him to gain higher favour under Elizabeth. In this regard, they were in the company of a majority of Mid-Tudor noblemen.

Other good examples of this are those of Pembroke and Bedford. Pembroke was a pragmatic politician who patronized Catholics as well as Protestants and who kept his conscience to himself. In short, he was an Erastian. A man cut out of a similar mould was John Russell, first earl of Bedford who was also an Erastian. He, like the Manners, could support Henry's religious establishment, Edward's Reformation, and Catholicism under Mary. However, his biographer, Professor Willen, is keen to point out:

In fact, his principles and his pragmatism, his Erastianism and self-interest, worked together a perfect marriage, creating in turn his strong loyalty to the throne.⁴⁹

This also describes well the Manners' orientation.

The Manners, like many of the nobility of the Mid-Tudor times were usually reluctant to reveal their consciences. The most graphic example of this is that religious preambles of any type in the wills of both earls are noticeable by their total absence. Pembroke's

⁴⁹ John Russell, First Earl of Bedford, pp. 16-25.

biographer, N.P. Sil, while examining the politics of the time, gives us a good explanation as to why:

In the turbulent decades of the 1540s and 1550s politiques had the best chance of survival, while extremists espoused their cause at their personal peril.

The second earl learned this lesson well after the Lady Jane Grey debacle. He was also perhaps influenced by the political admonitions of his mentor, Winchester, who himself was a conservative politique.⁵⁰

The Manners were therefore more like these men in religion than they were like Wolsey, Cromwell, Sir Thomas More, Somerset, and Northumberland. Men such as Sir Thomas More openly had a sincere religious orientation and were unable or unwilling to acquiesce to royal order when a contradiction between conscience and king developed. However, this was the exception rather than the rule in Mid-Tudor England.

Noblemen such as Somerset and Northumberland used Protestantism towards their own political ends and thus helped to form or implement Crown policy. This was perhaps more normal for the highest elite in Mid-Tudor England. But for the nobility as a whole, far more typical were the actions of the Manners. The Manners understood the perils of greatness and they also perhaps understood that true greatness itself was beyond their capabilities at this time. They took a more realistic

⁵⁰ William Lord Herbert of Pembroke, pp. 32-4. However, the author states that he was not an unbeliever.

approach and sought to strengthen their position by obedience to the royal religious settlement.

This can be contrasted with men such as Huntingdon under Elizabeth. Their dedication to the Crown was as strong as was that of the first and second earls of Rutland, but a new element had blossomed forth which had germinated during Edward's government. As Professor Cross wrote:

In secular government, the second half of the sixteenth century produced perhaps more than its share of godly ascetics, men fired with a love of religion and of their country, ready to sacrifice themselves in the work for which they felt they had been called.⁵¹

They were able to benefit from a relatively moderate and stable religious settlement which was noticeably absent in Mid-Tudor England.

Various earls of Rutland continued to be plagued with early death. From 1525 to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, five successive earls of Rutland appeared -- three of these having been created from 1587.⁵² Though we have seen that there can be a large amount of continuity and even development in a family during a period when its head is a ward (and the conditions which the second earl faced during his wardship were better than average of those which most wards faced) still much may be lost by an early death.

⁵¹ The Puritan Earl, pp. 281-2.

⁵² John Manners, who was created fourth earl of Rutland in 1587, died less than one year later.

Though the executors of the first earl were able to pay off his debts, the second earl was faced with a reduced income due to necessary bequests. Further, though Sir Richard was able to guide the family after 1543, the experience and some of the close Court connections enjoyed by the first earl were lost. These factors, combined with financial disputes and even a fine of £30,000 faced by the fifth earl for his involvement in the Essex rebellion later in the century, continued the Manners on an economic decline throughout the rest of the Tudor period. These factors helped limit the potential the family had for involvement in central politics later in the sixteenth century.

If one looks at the broad picture of the Manners family one can see that they were not a family in decline, however. The developments made by these early members of the family helped members in later centuries reach new economic and political heights. This can be illustrated by the fact that in 1703, John Manners, the ninth and last earl of Rutland, whose seat was still at Belvoir Castle, was created marquis of Granby and duke of Rutland -- titles which are to this day enjoyed by the family.⁵³

The Manners in the mid-Tudor period were for the

⁵³GEC xi, pp. 264-5. By the eighteenth century some members of the family were able to become primary movers in central politics, at which time their financial situation was on the rise.

most part successful. They developed, and in some cases "inherited", a pattern of office holding which was repeated by successive earls of Rutland. In addition, though the family witnessed a gradual economic decline in the second half of the Tudor period, much of what was accomplished during the time of the first and second earls helped bring a greater rise in political as well as economic fortunes, when compared to their Northumberland beginnings. Finally, they were able firmly to establish a power-base in the North-east Midlands and they demonstrated to the Crown their usefulness in the North. They proved more resilient than most during Mid-Tudor high politics because they were able to reveal to the Crown that they were too useful to be ignored but yet never dangerous enough to be eliminated.

The involvement of the first and second earls of Rutland in Mid-Tudor politics sheds new light on the period. It was Whitney R.D. Jones who popularized the idea that the Mid-Tudor period (1539-1563) was a time of crisis. He highlighted several areas of crisis including the problem with the survival of the Tudor dynasty, the crisis in religion, economic and social problems, and the sphere of foreign affairs in Mid-Tudor England. This was challenged seven years later by a volume edited by Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler entitled The Mid-Tudor Polity, c. 1540-1560, in which a series of studies challenged the notion of a "mid-Tudor crisis". Instead,

continuity and cooperation between Crown and nobility were emphasized in regard to specific aspects.⁵⁴ In 1992 David Loades accepted the revisionist interpretation in his book The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565. In this he called into question the whole proposition of a period of crisis in his examination of the state, society, and church. He wrote:

The apparent unity provided by the concept of the Mid-Tudor crisis is artificial and in many ways unhelpful, but it is necessary to unravel the misunderstandings created by the "ready acceptance" [of a mid-Tudor crisis] of Jones and others. Consequently it may be helpful to study the Mid-Tudor period in order to return it to an undifferentiated sixteenth century, in which it belongs without any distinguishing tag, pejorative or otherwise.⁵⁵

Certainly, the revisionists have rendered Jones' thesis too simplistic at times. However, this study of the Manners family can show us an important point. It is that if there was a mid-Tudor crisis, then it was at least in part a crisis in the highest level of leadership. This was revealed by Henry VIII's leadership in the last decade of his life in which, in part, he squandered money and wasted men's lives on wars with France and Scotland, and Somerset's leadership in the Scottish campaign (at which time he was basically continuing Henry VIII's policy). Northumberland demonstrated his ineptness in the Lady Jane Grey affair. The fact that there

⁵⁴ See W.R.D. Jones The Mid-Tudor Crisis: 1539-1563 (New York, 1973) and The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560.

⁵⁵ D. Loades The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565 (New York, 1992), see especially pp. 1-5.

was a lack of a coherent and effective English command structure in the Anglo-French hostilities in 1557-8, further demonstrated a lack of ability on the highest levels.

In the latter, for example, it would be impossible to prove that Rutland was totally without fault. However, at least it can be stated that he, who was now a seasoned soldier and commander, was hampered to some degree by having to wait, on various occasions, for orders from a Privy Council and Crown who were indecisive and isolated from the events and who actually did not even "see eye to eye" in regard to whether or not England should have been involved in the war in the first place. One cannot help but imagine that if a wiser policy or a more competent command structure had been implemented in this involvement, the results may have been different. Similarly, Somerset's naive and incompetent garrison policy in Scotland was a huge waste of money and men.

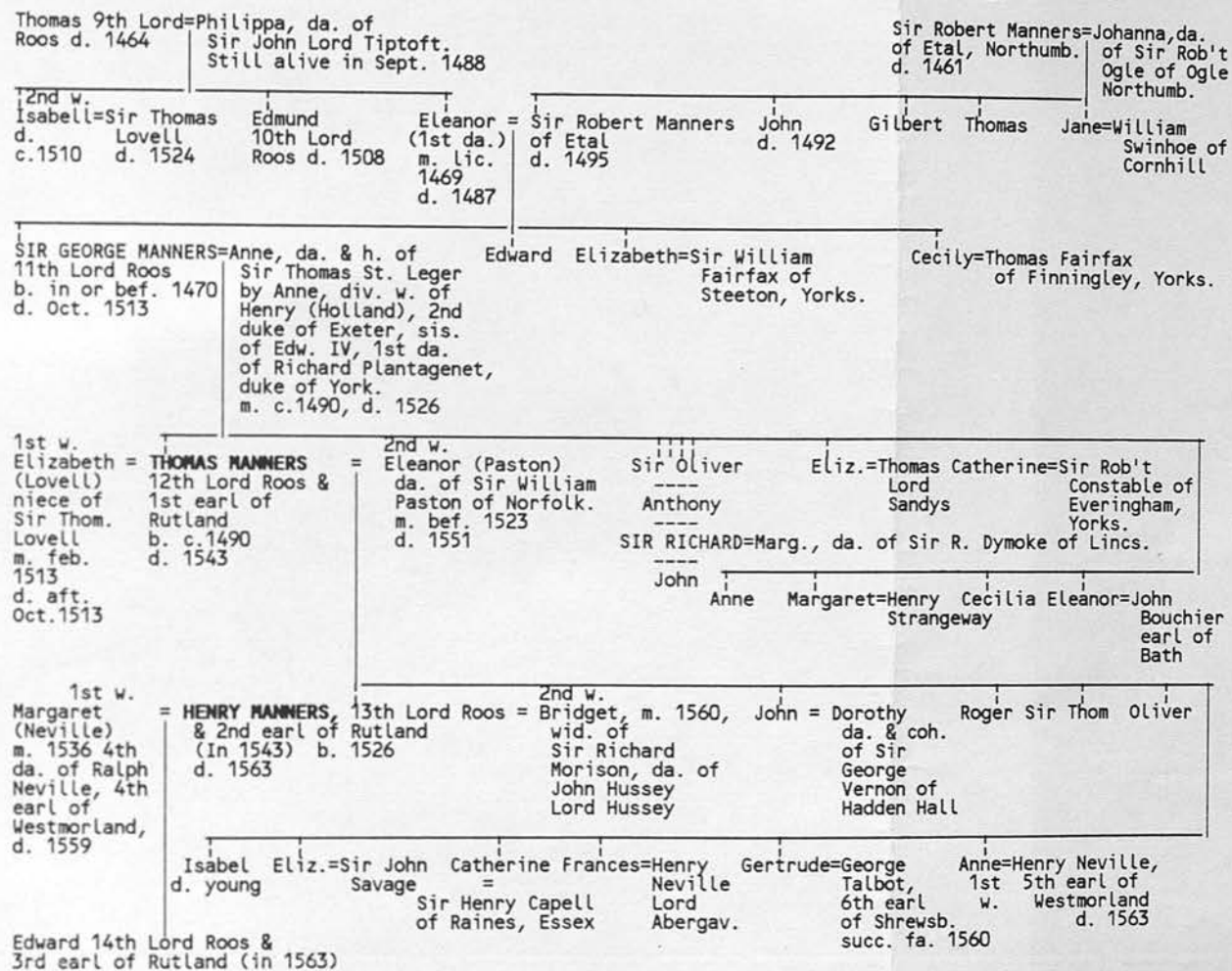
Noblemen such as Rutland, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Pembroke, and a host of others proved themselves to be willing and useful servants of the powers that were. However, during the mid-Tudor period, their effectiveness was at times blunted due to this crisis in leadership at the highest levels. Yet, families such as the Manners, the Talbots, the St. Johns, and the Herberts helped provide the continuity and stability needed by the country during the middle of the Tudor age.

G.W. Bernard has already shown that the nobility of early and mid-Tudor England were the most influential, powerful and important segment in society.⁵⁶ It could be reasoned that the ability to lead effectively this most important segment of society in order to bring about the greatest good for the state is perhaps one standard by which to evaluate the statesmanship of a particular ruler. Perhaps Elizabeth's success as a monarch derived in part from her ability to make more effective use of these willing and highly important servants of the Crown than had her recent predecessors who tended to place personal ambition or ideology above good governing.

The type of crisis that existed in the middle of the great Tudor period was certainly not unique in English history. One needs only to look at the Wars of the Roses of the previous century or at the English Civil War in the following one. Nor should it be seen as having overshadowed the continuity of the times and the cooperation between Crown and nobility. But this should not exclude the possibility that it was a crisis in the highest realm of leadership which was sandwiched between the relatively stable and more effective governments existing on the one hand in the reign of Henry VII and the early years of Henry VIII and on the other during the greater part of the Elizabethan era.

⁵⁶ The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility, p. 1.

Appendix A
ABBREVIATED GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY AND MID-TUDOR MANNERS FAMILY



Appendix B

PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE MANNERS ON JPS AND MPs, c. 1545-53

CHART 1

| PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE MANNERS ON ELECTIONS TO THE PARLIAMENTS OF 1545, 1547, & MARCH 1553 ¹ | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|--|--|-----------------------|
| SHIRE/BOROUGH | 1545 RET. RUT. | 1547 RET. RUT. | 1553 MAR. RET. RUT. | TOTAL RET. RUT. | RUTLAND'S MPs | TYPE |
| Leicestershire Leicester | 2 0 | 2 0 | 2 0 | 6 0 | | |
| Lincolnshire Boston Grantham Great Grimsby Lincoln Stamford | 2 1 0 2 2 0 | 2 0 1 2 0 0 | 2 1 0 2 unknown ?1known 0 | 6 2? 0 6 3 4 0 5 1 6 0 | SIR ROBERT TYRWGIT Sir Rob. Tyrwhit II SIR ED. WARNER 3X ² ROBERT FARRAR | 2 2 1 1 1 |

Chart 1 Continued

¹ For lists of MPs for various counties Bindoff i has been relied upon. For analysis of data see chapter 4, pp. 111-5. "Type" mentioned below refers to type of influence:

1. Good evidence that the Manners were a primary influence.
 2. Good evidence that the they were a secondary influence.
 3. Only partial evidence that the Manners had some type of influence, or their influence was evident, but not too significant.
- ² i.e. he was returned as MP for all three Parliaments.

| SHIRE/BOROUGH | 1545 RET. RUT. | 1547 RET. RUT. | 1553 MAR. RET. RUT. | TOTAL RET. RUT. | RUTLAND'S MPs | TYPE |
|---|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| Northumberland Berw.-on-Tweed Newca.-on-Tyne | unknown unknown 2 0 | 2 0 2 0 2 1 | unknown unknown 2 0 | 2 0 2 0 6 1 | LEKE, SIR FRANCIS | 3 |
| Nottingham. | 2 0 | 2 1 | 2 2 | | Sir John Markham WILLIAM MEERING George Lascelles SIR JOHN MARKHAM Nicholas Powtrell JOHN PASTON Nicholas Powtrell | 2 3 3 1 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 |
| Nottingham | 2 2 | 2 2 | 2 0 | 6 4 | | |
| Rutland | 2 2 | 2 2 | 2 2 | 6 6 | KENELM DIGBY 3X Anthony Colly 3X | 1 3 |
| Yorkshire Hedon King.-on-Hull Scarborough Thirsk York | unknown no rets. 2 0 2 0 no rets. 2 0 | 2 0 2 0 2 0 2 0 2 0 | 2 1 2 0 2 0 2 0 2 0 | 4 1 4 0 6 0 6 0 4 0 6 0 | Sir Rob. Constable | 1 |
| TOTALS | 30 6 | 40 7 | 33 8 | 103 21 | 10 in 1st Position 6 in 2nd Position 5 in 3rd Position | AVG 1.8 |

CHART 2³

| TOTALS OF INFLUENCE IN ELECTIONS OF 1545, 1547, & MARCH 1553 PER COUNTY | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------|
| COUNTY TOTALS | 1545 RET. RUT. | 1547 RET. RUT. | 1553 MAR. RET. RUT. | TOTAL RET. RUT. | TYPES ⁴ | AVG. |
| Leicestershire | 4 0 | 4 0 | 4 0 | 12 0 | | |
| Lincolnshire | 12 2 | 12 1 | 9 3 | 36 6 | two 2s; four 1s | 1.3 |
| Northumberland | 2 0 | 6 1 | 2 0 | 10 1 | one 3 | 3.0 |
| Nottingham. | 4 2 | 4 3 | 4 2 | 12 7 | four 2s; two 1s | 1.7 |
| Rutland | 2 2 | 2 2 | 2 2 | 6 6 | three 1s;three 3s | 2.0 |
| Yorkshire | 6 0 | 10 0 | 12 1 | 30 1 | one 1 | 1.0 |

³ For more information about this chart and analysis of data see Chapter 4, pp. 111-5.
⁴ See footnote 2 above. "AVG." mentioned in the next column refers to the average of the types of influence.

CHART 3

| RUTLAND'S PROBABLE INFLUENCE IN THE SELECTION OF JPs BY COUNTY ⁵ | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|
| COUNTY | 1543-5 ⁶ | 1547 ⁷ |
| Leicestershire | 2/24 | 1/23 |
| Lincolnshire: Holland | 1/24 | 1/20 |
| Kesteven | 1/18 | 2/22 |
| Lindsey | 4/38 | 3/35 |
| County Total ⁸ | 4/69 | 4/64 |
| Northumberland | No Comm. | 2/21 |
| Nottinghamshire | 3/23 | 6/18 |
| Rutland | 4/15 | 3/16 |
| Yorkshire: East Riding | 3/31 | 3/32 |
| North Riding | 3/32 | 3/35 |
| West Riding | 5/50 | 4/51 |
| County Total | 6/89 | 5/92 |

⁵ For lists of JPs : LP XX, i gr. 622 no. vii & gr. 623 no. vi; CPR Edw. VI i, pp.85-88,91,92; For Notts. data from C. Black, pp. 54-5 has been used. Totals given refer to those to whom it appears that the Manners had some influence upon, out of the total number of active JPs.

See Chapter 4 of this thesis, pp.113-5, for analysis of data and for additional JP sources consulted but not all used specifically in this chart.

⁶ Lincs.: Holl. & Kest., Notts., & Rutland -- 1543; Leics., Lincs.: Lind., -- 1544; Yorks. -- 12 Feb. 1545.

⁷ All are 26 May 1547. In Lincs. & Yorks. Rutland's men tended to sit on more than one commission for the county.

⁸ County totals appear smaller than they should due to duplications which are not added to the total.

**THE SECOND EARL OF RUTLAND'S BAND OF MEN-AT-ARMS,
1551-2¹**

The two Belvoir Castle manuscripts transcribed below are accounts dealing with a band of armed horsemen which were financed by the Crown and entrusted to the second earl of Rutland in 1551 and 1552. The Historical Manuscripts Commission failed even to mention the existence of these items. The first manuscript transcribed below, BCA 50, consists of seven leaves of paper (not including blank end leaves) of folio size and it contains the account of the paymaster of this band of armed horsemen. The second manuscript (only two folios in length) deals specifically with the expenses incident to the muster held in London in May 1552. It has not yet been formally catalogued but will be referred to as BCMD 1552. The interest of these documents lies, among other things, in their uniqueness. No other accounts have yet come to light which deal, as these do, in a direct and detailed way with the upkeep of one of those heavy cavalry units which were set up by the Edwardian regime in a brief but ominous attempt to control the troubled realm by means of a regular peacetime force.

In the summer of 1550 troops formerly from Boulogne

¹ A version of this has been published in Historical Research (Oxford, February, 1995), pp. 99-106, with the approval of my principal supervisor, Mr. A.J.A. Malkiewicz, who suggested that I look for information relating to the Edwardian bands at Belvoir Castle.

were quartered in different counties of southern England and later it was decided to institute a more permanent arrangement with bands allotted to trusted members of the Privy Council. This action was also partly in response to Warwick's mistrust of ordinary militia levies. It was with this background in mind that on 20 December 1550 Edward VI wrote in his Journal that thirteen noblemen were appointed to keep bands of horsemen. However, at this time Rutland was not among them.²

On 26 February 1551 the Privy Council debated this idea (in order to embody the king's will in a proper Council resolution) and it was agreed upon to have a number of men-at-arms "in ordynarie aswell for the suertie of his Majesties parson as for the staie of the unquiet subjectes, and for other services in all eventes...". They in effect created a small standing army, which was a novelty in English history.³ Noblemen had for some time been granted licences by the Crown to retain men above the number of their household servants and these indentured retainers were, at moments of crises, called upon to serve the king. The Edwardian bands, however, were a more elaborate, deliberate, and, as was probably originally envisaged, permanent

² Lit. Remains ii, pp. 298-9.

³ PRO PC 2/4, p. 233 (APC iii, p. 225). D.E. Hoak, in The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 199, noted of these bands, "The decision to create the nucleus of a standing army in England was a historic one."

arrangement compared with these traditional indentured retainers. Further, the Edwardian bands were financed directly by the Crown, specifically to serve the needs of the Crown and they made use of (at least in Rutland's case) household servants.

On 9 April of the same year Edward again noted in his Journal that Rutland replaced Lord Wentworth (who had died on 3 March) and that he would have command of fifty horsemen.⁴ Rutland was at that time the only man entrusted with a band of men-at-arms who was not a member of the Privy Council, an indication of the confidence Warwick was placing in the young earl.

There is considerable evidence in BCA 50 of the whereabouts of Rutland's band (or at least of his great horses which were used by some of its members) and it appears that it spent much time in or near London. This included Mortlake and Holywell, Rutland's main London residence. Rutland also kept some of his great horses, along with a horsekeeper, in Greenwich, near to the royal Court.⁵ At other times, of course, they would be deployed on Rutland's chief estates.

⁴ Lit. Remains ii, pp. 313; See W.H. Dunham, Jr., Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers 1461-1483, Trans. of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences xxxix (New Haven, Connecticut, 1955), pp. 90-116 for a very interesting discussion of indentured retainers though he does not mention the uniqueness of the Edwardian men-at-arms. I thank Miss Anita Hewerdine for this reference. See Hoak, pp. 199-200 in which is mentioned a proposal in 1549 by Sir Thomas Wyatt for a local militia system, which was not implemented.

⁵ BCA 50, fos. 5-7

The accounts give us further information about the two major musters at this time in which the bands of men-at-arms were present. On 7 December 1551 the new bands, the royal pensioners, and the "old men of armis" rode before the king and the French ambassador at St. James's Palace. The lords did not lead their respective bands, though each band did ride under its lord's standard. Rutland's standard was a peacock, and the pencils (i.e. thin banners) were in his household colours of yellow and blue, the same colours in which his men were dressed.⁶

There are two conflicting accounts of this muster, one by the imperial ambassador, Jehan Scheyfve, and the other by King Edward VI. The imperial ambassador noted:

Most of them were lightly armed and only middling-well accoutred, neither armour nor horses being remarkable; and the gathering had all the appearance of a muster, for the troops were clumsy and unseasoned.⁷

Edward VI wrote in his Journal that all the men were well armed and that the horses were "al feire and greate...". In a letter that month to his friend Barnaby FitzPatrick in France he noted of the muster that Barnaby "shal see in Fraunce none like" it.⁸

It can now be seen with the aid of BCA 50 that for Rutland, at least, the truth most likely lay somewhere in

⁶ Lit. Remains ii, pp. 375-6; BCA 50 fo. 3.

⁷ CSPS 1550-2, p. 408.

⁸ Lit. Remains ii, pp. 375-6, i. 72.

between. Rutland's band appears to have been moderately well armoured and equipped. Rutland himself had to maintain some horses for his band from the quarterly wages provided by the treasury, but rarely paid on time. Out of the funds for the two quarter wages mentioned in BCA 50 he paid almost £14 for armour, £5 15s. for staves, £30 for harnesses, and £4 4s. for bits, though not all of this was purchased before this muster. Further, the horses that Rutland provided for the muster were "grete horses" which, as the name implies, were above the height of the average horse. This, of course, does not tell the whole story since he may have used armour, weapons, and other items which were left over from the Scottish war. Finally, it is now known that it apparently rained on the day of the muster. John Bateman, Rutland's comptroller, paid fourteen pence for two "sackes of cooles to drye the velvet cotes after the musters..."⁹ This, along with the fact that the ambassador heard the rumour that Edward VI might send various horsemen, including 500 of the bands, to France, may have further dampened his opinion of the muster. Also, the ambassador himself indicated that between 1,000 and 1,200 horsemen attended, which even by today's standards would make a large spectacle.¹⁰

Rutland's band attended another muster before the king, this time in Greenwich Park, on 16 May 1552. Rut-

⁹ BCA 50, fos. 5-7.

¹⁰ CSPS 1550-2, p. 408.

land had a new trumpet with a new silk girdle purchased specially for this occasion. BCMD 1552 indicates that for the most part Rutland's men were well provided for, receiving from Rutland either entertainment or horses for the journey to the London muster. New saddles and staffs were purchased for this event. The men travelled as a group to London and stayed at inns together along the way and would not therefore have made a nuisance of themselves by foraging in the countryside, a practice which was common among continental troops. The ambassador again noted that about 1,200 horsemen were involved in this muster.¹¹

These musters were used as a show of strength and were therefore symbolically important. For example, the first took place just a few days after Protector Somerset's trial in London where he had many sympathizers. Further, these bands of men-at-arms, or part of them, followed the king on his summer progress. Rutland's band was no exception for in May 1552 fifteen horsemen of Rutland's band were appointed to go with the king on this progress and a few references to this progress are given in BCA 50. However, in July 1552 the number of horsemen in the bands which followed the king on his progress had to be reduced to 150 owing ostensibly to over-burdening

¹¹ Lit. Remains ii, pp. 416; The Diary of Henry Machyn, p. 18; BCA 50 fo. 7; Rutland MSS iv, p. 370; CSPS 1550-2, p. 525.

of provisions and to the fact that the horses were denuding the countryside.¹²

Of the men-at-arms listed in the two accounts it can be seen that Rutland's band was composed of men with considerable military training. Many had served at Boulogne from 1544, in Scotland in 1549 and 1550, and some even earlier in 1542. Most were known to have been employed in his household at various times both before and after their service in this band. Many of these servants were either local gentry, or sons of local gentry, though some were also yeomen.¹³

A good example of Rutland's use of household servants with military experience can be seen in Thomas Markham, esq., of Ollerton, Nottinghamshire. He fought at Boulogne in 1544 and in Scotland from 1547. In 1549 Rutland was appointed warden of the East and Middle Marches and lieutenant in the North and Markham served in Rutland's household as gentleman waiter by midsummer of that year and at the same time continued his involvement in the skirmishes against the Scots. By Christmas 1552 he appeared again on Rutland's household payroll, just shortly after the disbanding of the men-at-arms. Markham followed Rutland in supporting Lady Jane Grey in 1553. He was in Rutland's household in the reign of Mary and

¹² BCA 50, fo. 7; Lit. Remains ii, pp. 419, 435-6.

¹³ See biographical references in notes to the text of BCA 50 fo. 3, infra; BCMD 1552.

fought with Rutland at the Battle of St. Quentin in 1557. He pursued his military career under Elizabeth, being early in her reign appointed standard-bearer of the gentlemen pensioners.¹⁴

Documentation concerning the bands entrusted to the other noblemen and trusted royal servants in 1551 and 1552 is lacking. However, there is one notable exception.

Fortunately, a list exists of a group of Somerset's men-at-arms during this time. This is merely a single list of twenty-five men, described as men-at-arms, with payments made, placed within a much larger general inventory of Somerset's income and debts taken after his death.¹⁵ Though the picture here is far dimmer, it can still be seen that many of these men also had military experience, with some serving at Boulogne in 1544 and in Scotland at the end of the decade. Among Somerset's men-at-arms was the colourful Thomas Stukeley who came from a Devonshire family and who apparently served at the siege of Boulogne where he was standard-bearer. He held a similar position in the Scottish borders in 1550. After Somerset's arrest he escaped to France where he became an adventurer, even became involved in priva-

¹⁴ CPR Edw. ii, p. 402, Rutland MSS i, pp. 453; *ibid.* iv, pp. 355, 363; BCA 59; BCA 62; Bindoff ii, pp. 570-1.

¹⁵ BL Egerton MS 2815 (unfoliated). I would like to thank Mr. A.J.A. Malkiewicz for indicating to me the existence of this MS.

teering and pirating. He was finally killed in the battle of Alcazar in 1578.¹⁶

Unlike Rutland, it appears that Somerset chose to recruit outside his household, although the evidence here is somewhat conflicting. It would not be surprising, however, if a towering political figure such as the former Protector were able and willing to draw men from throughout England, while magnates like Rutland (who was a large property owner and whose political and military energies were more focused on the provinces) would naturally tend to recruit from their own households.¹⁷ One cannot of course know whether Somerset would have employed his men-at-arms in his household after the disbanding because he was executed before then. However, as the bands (including Somerset's and Rutland's) carried the colours and badges of their noble leaders, this gave them a close association with their lords' households.

Rutland's band had a graded structure which can be reconstructed by combining our two documents. Had the whole quarterly allowance of £250 been equally divided

¹⁶ DNB xix, pp. 123-6.

¹⁷ BL Egerton MS. 2815. Payments to several members of Somerset's band of men-at-arms are listed under a heading, "Diverse thesaide late duke servantes...". However, these payments were made for attendance in a progress of Somerset's in 1551 which his band probably attended and "servantes" is probably used to include household servants as well as men from his band. But even this shows how closely linked his band was with his household. Longleat House, Wiltshire, Seymour Papers x, fos. 166-70 [microfilm] gives a list of Somerset's servants in 1547 and none of them is listed in BL Egerton MS. 2815 as being in his band in 1551.

(leaving nothing for overhead expenses), no man could have received above five pounds per quarter. Yet, in fact, the elite of the band, eleven men in Midsummer quarter 1551, ten in Michaelmas quarter, and possibly thirteen by May 1552, received ten pounds each. Other quarter wages ranged from £7 10s. down to five pounds and £3 15s. On the other hand, the total number receiving wages directly from the paymaster was well below fifty. Those receiving ten pounds per quarter and apparently also those (three in number) who were paid £7 10s. each were said to be enjoying "double entertainment" and each of them maintained another trooper (not named in the accounts) together with the two horses. Those men-at-arms who received quarterly wages of the order of five pounds or £3 15s. were responsible for themselves and their horses; a few of them, including the trumpeter, rode Rutland's own horses. Nevertheless, BCMD 1552 also mentions the fact that they, in turn, had their own mounted men -- in all probability servants, not soldiers. The third category of the band's members consisted of "my lordys men that have no enterteynment": their upkeep, as well as the provision of the horses, was the earl's direct responsibility.¹⁸

¹⁸ BCA 50, fo. 3: some were actually given half year payments during the second quarter, showing that they were employed during both quarters. Lit. Remains ii, pp. 313, 375; Stowe's Chronicle, augmented by E. Howes, (1631), p. 607; BCMD 1552 mentions fifty men-at-arms (fifty-three with the higher officers included); Diary of Henry Machyn, pp. 12-3.

The structure appears to have been unlike that of the band of fifty gentlemen called "pencioners" or "speares" which Henry VIII set up on Christmas Eve, 1539. Each spear was to have an archer, a demi-lance, and a custrell, and three great horses. Edward specifically noted of the first known muster that the men had neither pages nor demi-lances nor custrells.¹⁹ Yet some type of loose grouping system was used, especially amongst those receiving double entertainment. This is further confirmed by the noted fact that various members had mounted servants. However, these servants were not official members of the band and would probably not therefore have taken part in a muster, for example. It is likely that a similar structure appeared in Somerset's band since we know, from the above mentioned list, that only twenty-five of his one-hundred men-at-arms received direct payments and that these payments were in varying amounts.

Other hints of the structure of the bands can now be detected. The bands of both Rutland and Somerset had lieutenants who were John Constable and Thomas Stukeley respectively. Rutland also had a steward who, among other things, was to deal with board wages and to negotiate with innkeepers. Giles Bigges was appointed to "have the order of the horsis" of Rutland's band. The

¹⁹ Hall's Chronicle, (London, 1809), p. 832. Lit. Remains i, p. 72.

band also included a man-at-arms who, in addition, functioned as a blacksmith. As has been mentioned, John Bateman was paymaster; however, George Pilkington performed this role for the second muster. Rutland further had a standard-bearer, Thomas Bamborough, and a trumpeter, who rode a gelding.²⁰

Conclusions concerning significant financial matters in relation to Rutland's band specifically and to the remainder of the bands, generally, can now be drawn from information pieced together from the accounts and other sources. BCA 50 mentions the receipt of only two of the six quarter payments of £250 each which Rutland received.²¹ BCA 50 further includes the receipt of fifty shillings from Lady Rutland and £48 13s. 4d. from Rutland's auditor, Anthony Williams.²² Money received by the paymaster of the band was then used for wages, prests to members of the band, armour and staves, provisions for the horses, travelling expenses, and other miscellaneous items some of them unrelated to the main purpose of this fund, such as paying for the earl's petty gaming losses. From time to time, Lady Rutland took money from the

²⁰ BCA 50, fo. 3; BL Egerton MS. 2815 -- Thomas Stukeley was not specifically mentioned as being a lieutenant though he was listed first and received by far the largest payment.

²¹ BCA 50, fo. 2. For evidence of other payments see: PRO E101/546/19, fos. 44, 49 (for an interesting discussion of this source see D. Hoak, "The secret History of the Tudor Court", Journal of British Studies, xxvi (1987), pp. 221-2); BL Royal MS 18C xxiv, fo. 371v.

²² BCA 50, fo. 2v.

account: she took out more than she put in. This situation was reversed later when money going to expenses for Rutland's bands was provided from his own household funds, though at the same time, payments from the treasury may possibly have been channelled into a pool of household finance.²³

The men-at-arms were all disbanded by Michaelmas 1552 owing to lack of Crown funds. Recent research on the events following the death of Edward VI, combined with what we know about Rutland's band, makes it increasingly difficult to describe the effects of the disbandment upon the Lady Jane Grey crisis in as dramatic a way as did F.C. Dietz in whose opinion:

Against money and metal, the weight of guns and mercenaries, Mary and her followers could not have raised up their heads.... With the discharge of the mercenaries Northumberland disarmed himself, and all possibilities of his success were gone.²⁴

Professor Dale Hoak has recently shown that Northumberland lost control of events in 1553 not primarily for lack of arms but because he failed to secure Mary's person beforehand and because Mary's resistance won extensive popular support.²⁵ Further, horses, weapons, and armoury were certainly left over

²³ Ibid., fo. 7v; Rutland MSS iv, pp. 370-1.

²⁴ F.C. Dietz, English Government Finance 1485-1558 (Urbana, IL, 1920), pp. 196-7. See also Hoak, "Todor Court", pp. 199-201.

²⁵ D. Hoak, "Two Revolutions in Tudor Government: the formation and Organization of Mary I's Privy Council", pp. 87-115.

from the men-at-arms who were disbanded only about three quarters of a year earlier. It was probably not coincidental that Rutland himself received his last and long overdue payment less than a month before the crisis. The money would have enabled him to re-create his band, or something very much like it, in anticipation of the king's death and possible trouble about the succession. Many members of the 1551-2 band were still with Rutland as his household servants, and the situation was probably similar in the case of some of the other grandees who had been in command of bands. In fact, just before the death of Edward, various elites loyal to the king (excluding Rutland) were granted licenses to retain men. In the event, many of Rutland's household followed him in supporting Lady Jane Grey. But not all household servants obeyed their masters. Many were also persons of fairly high standing in their communities and that gave them some independence.²⁶

The brief story of Rutland's band limits the scope of Professor Lawrence Stone's assertions concerning the second earl of Rutland's financial situation during

²⁶ BCA 59; For the ability of even low ranking servants to defy their masters during this crisis see: "The Vita Mariae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham," ed. & trans. by D. MacCulloch, Camden Miscellany xxviii, fourth series xxix (London, 1984), pp. 263-4. Queen Mary briefly instituted her own version of the Edwardian bands in 1554, after Wyatt's rebellion, and even granted Rutland 100 horsemen. See PRO PC 2/7, p. 70 (APC iv, p. 392). For payment of £180 made on 12 June 1554 out of £750 due to the earl of Rutland for his Marian band see BCA 509. See also references in BCA 62.

Edward VI's reign, viz., "the only financial result of his services [to the Crown] was a mounting tide of debt," and that "he had failed to reap any reward to help pay for his expenses...".²⁷ What Rutland actually did get out of this instance of service was his own band of men-at-arms paid for by funds from the royal treasury. We have seen that there was some overlap between royal funding and Rutland's own sources; it is not possible to say with certainty whether the earl was, in the final reckoning, out of pocket, or whether he made a modest profit. Certainly, by entrusting this band to him the Crown made him an important member of the power structure and his household obtained a heightened local as well as national profile.

²⁷ F&F, p. 168.

[fo. 1]

Thaccompte of John Bateman touching my lords
band of men at armes.

[fo. 2]

Thaccompte of Johan Bateman servaunt unto the right
honorable therle of Rutland aswell for money by him
received at the kinges majestes handes and others for the
said erle towardses the wages and furniture of his band of
men at armes as also for the payment and defraying of the
same bothe be to²⁹ the said band in wages and otherwise
from the xxiiijth of June, anno regni Regis Edwardi vj^{ti}
quinto unto the xvjth of July thenne next following [i.e.
1552] by his lordships commaundement as followeth,
videlicet:

Receptes of wages:

Firste received by thandes³⁰ of Sir Edmond Peckham knight
hieghe treasauror of the kinges majestes myntes the
xxiiijth of June anno quinto Regis predicti for the said³¹
wages due for³² one quarter ended at the feast of St.
John Baptiste last past, the some of two hundreth and
fiftie poundes, and also in likemaner by thandes of the

²⁸ Brief biographical references are provided below
for various names, referred to in these documents, which
have not been previously mentioned. The numerous
references to various Belvoir Castle MSS indicate the
close association to Rutland's household which many of
these men had.

²⁹ Interlined in MS.

³⁰ Last two words interlined.

³¹ Interlined in MS.

³² "of" crossed out and last two words interlined.

said Sir Edmond for the wages aforesaid due for one other quarter ended at the feaste of St. Michael Tharchangel [29 September] thenne next following other two hundrethe and fiftie poundes ----- v^c li.

[fo. 2v]

Money received by the said John Bateman by waie of preste:

First received of my lady³³ at Mortlak mense Septembris anno v^{to} predicti Regis, 1 s.

Receptes of prestes:

Item received of Anthony Williams³⁴ the xxth of Aprill, xliiij li. xiiij s. iiij d. Item the xvijth of May following -- xl s. and the xvjth of July following that, xl s. anno vj^{to} predicti Regis. [Total] xlviiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Summa 1j li. iiij s. iiij d.

Summa totalis receptarum predictarum Dlj li. iiij s. iiij d.³⁵

De quibus:

[fo. 3]

Wages paide by thandes of the said John Bateman to the said men at armes as followith:

Midsomer quarter anno v^{to} predicti Regis.

³³ I.e. Countess Margaret Neville.

³⁴ Rutland's auditor (see BCA 50 fo. 7v).

³⁵ The auditor left a mark above this and the following totals indicating that he had examined each of them.

Firste paid to John Constable lieutenaunt³⁶ the xxviiijth
 of June anno v^{to} predicti Regis xvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.
 Item to William Norton³⁷ x li.
 Item to William Yaxley³⁸ x li.
 To Tristram Tirwhit³⁹ x li.
 To Thomas Markham x li.
 To Thomas Dudley⁴⁰ x li.
 To Laurence Turkington⁴¹ x li.
 To Thomas Orsbarston⁴² x li.
 To Ferdinando Liggen x li.
 To George Pilkington⁴³ x li.
 To Christofoer Ayre⁴⁴ x li.
 To Michael Tomson⁴⁵ x li.
 Item to Giles Bigges l s.
 Summa Cxxix li. iiij s. iiij d.

Michaelmas quarter anno eodem.

Item paid to John Constable lieutenant the xiiijth of

³⁶ See Rutland MSS iv, pp. 356-8, 363.

³⁷ See BCA 67; BCA 62; BCA 331.

³⁸ See Rutland MSS iv, pp. 354 & passim.; BCA 59; BCA 60, fo. 11; BCA 62.

³⁹ See Hasler iii, p. 538; BCA 59; BCA 62.

⁴⁰ It is tempting to place him as a relative to the duke of Northumberland, but no conclusive evidence has yet been found so to do.

⁴¹ Rutland MSS iv, pp. 354, 358, 362-3.

⁴² See Ibid. pp. 363, 370; BCA 59; BCA 62; BCA 331.

⁴³ See Rutland MSS iv, pp. 369-71; BCA 59; BCA 62; Crown grant of land in Rutland in PRO E 315/225, fo. 139. Possibly from Staunton, Derbys., CPR Eliz. i, no. 2469.

⁴⁴ Possibly from Highlow, Derbys. Pedigrees contained in the Visitation of Derbyshire, 1569 and 1611, (Exeter, no date), pp. 33-4.

⁴⁵ See Rutland MSS i, p. 48; BCA 59; BCA 62.

Octobre anno v^{to} predicti [Regis] xvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Item to Thomas Bambroughe⁴⁶

standerberer for half a yere x li.

To Thomas Markham x li.

To George Pilkington x li.

To Christofoe Ayre x li.

To William Yaxley x li.

To Thomas Orsbarston x li.

To Tristram Tirwhit x li.

pagina CCxv li. xvj s. viij d.

[fo. 3v]

Item to Lancelot Pikering⁴⁷ for

dimidio a year xv li.

To Thomas Dudley x li.

To Laurence Turkington x li.

To Henry Hawtrie for dimidio yere xv li.

To Hamon Upton for dimidio yere xv li.

To Thomas Norton x li.

To Michael Tomson x li.

To Andrewe Huddelston⁴⁸ for dimidio

yere vij li. x s.

To Thomas Cranmer⁴⁹ for dimidio

⁴⁶ See Rutland MSS i, pp. 64, 71, 74, 181; ibid. iv, pp. 363; BCA 59; BCA 62

⁴⁷ See BCA 59; BCA 62; BCA 331. Possibly same man as in CPR Eliz. iv, no. 2848; CPR Eliz. vi, no. 1725.

⁴⁸ See BCA 59; BCA 62.

⁴⁹ It is tempting to place him as a relative to the archbishop of the same name, but no conclusive evidence has yet been found to do so.

yere vij li. x s.
 To Lancelot Morley⁵⁰ for dimidio
 yere vij li. x s.⁵¹
 To Thomas Dodshley⁵² v li.
 Summa^{xx} Ciiij xix li. iiij s. iiiij d.
 Prestes uppon thenterteynementes
 Delivered to Thomas Orsbaston the xxth of April anno vj^{to}
 predicti Regis, v li.
 Item to Andrewe Huddelston the same daie, vj li. xiiij s.
 iiiij d.
 Item to Lancelot Pikering that daie, xx li.
 Item to Tristram Tirwhit that daie, v li.
 Item to Laurence Turkington the same daie, v li.
 Summa xliij li. xiiij s. iiiij d.
 Item delivered to my lady the same day, xx s.
 pagina⁵³ - - Clv li. iiij s. iiiij d.

[fo. 4]

Armorer

First paid unto Rafe Crofte armorer in full payment of
 his billes the xviiijth of June anno v^{to} predicti Regis, x
 li. xv s. ij d.

Harneis

Item to Richard Cotes merchaunt the same daie in full
 contentacion for certen harneises whiche my lord bought

⁵⁰ See BCA 59; BCA 62; BCA 331.

⁵¹ "d" crossed out.

⁵² See Rutland MSS iv, pp. 299, 333; BCA 59; BCA 61A,
 fos. 46-55; BCA 62; BCA 331.

⁵³ "CCxliij li. xvij s. viij d." crossed out.

of him, xxx li.

Rewarde

Item delivered unto Master John Paston by my ladies
commaundement the xxviijth of the same June, v li.

Money paid out of the said some of lxxv li. xviiij d. to
diverse persons after the first proclamacion.⁵⁴

Memorandum that I the said John Bateman paid no more
money of the CCl li. for mydsomer entreteynment then
before is particulerly declared so that there was
remayning in myn handes at the first proclamacion for the
fal of moneys the some of lxxv li. xviiij d.

Armorer

Item paid to the newe armorer by thandes of Giles Bigges
for certen necessaries touching tharmory, the xjth of July
anno v^{to} predicti, the testern being then fallen to ix d.,
x s.

Staves

Item paid to the stafmaker by my lordes commaundement in
full payment for certen stafes the xjth of August, the
testern at ix d., v li. xv s.

pagina -- liij li. ij d.

[fo. 4v]

Bittes

Item to Combreland the bitmaker the same daie by like

⁵⁴ In regard to the debasement of coin. The shilling (or "teston") was devalued to 9 d. This was proclaimed 6 May 1551, to take effect 31 Aug. (Tudor Royal Proclamations, ed. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin (3 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1964-9), i. 518-9.

commaundement for certen bittes, the testern at ix d.,
iiij li. iiij s.

Haye

Item paid for ij loodes of haie by thandes of Giles
Bigges at Mortak the xijth of August at xix s. the lode,
the testern at ix d., xxxviij s.

Otes

Item paid the same daie by the said Bigges for xv
otesheves iij s. and for strawe xvij d., iiij s. vj d.

Preste

Item delivered unto Christofor Whalley⁵⁵ by my lordes
commaundement the xvth of August anno v^{to} predicti for the
howsehold, the testern at ix d., xvij li.

Debtes

Item paid unto Master Kek merchaunt the xiiijth of the
same monith by like commaundement in full contentacon,
the testern at ix d., xj li. xij s. vj d.

Debtes, Sadler

Item paid to Tailour the sadler by my ladies
commaundement the viijth of August aforesaid in ful
payment of his two billes as appere by the same, viij li.
xix s. x d.

Summa l li. iiij s. x d.

Losse of money by the first proclamacion

⁵⁵ Of London and the Eagle, Lincs., gent. See BCA
59; BCA 60, fo. 1 & passim; BCA 62; BCA 331; Rutland MSS
iv, pp. 354, 358.

Item loste in the payment of the said l li. iiij s. x d.
paid by the said proclamacion, xvj li. xiiij s. xj d.

Summa patet

pagina lx li. xiiij s. ix d.

[fo. 5]

Memorandum remayning in my handes after the particlers
before paied and after the second proclamacion⁵⁶ the some
of viij li. ij s. x d.

Riding charges

Item delivered unto Giles Bigges by my lordes
commaundement the xixth of August⁵⁷ anno v^{to} predicti for
the charges of leading downe certen grete horses from
London to Theagle, the testern being thenne fallen by
proclamacion to vj d., iiij li.⁵⁸

Summa iiij li.

Losses of money by the second proclamacion

Item loste in the payment of the said remayn of viij li.
ij s. x d. by the said fall, iiij li. xvij d.

Summa patet

Botehier

Item paied to Henry Bob by my lordes commaundement for

⁵⁶ The "r" in this word is written over an "l". The second proclamation reduced the shilling (or teston) to 6 d. (Tudor Royal Proclamations, pp. 529-30).

⁵⁷ "aj" crossed out.

⁵⁸ This is followed by a cancelled entry, under the heading "Botehier" which is almost identical to one below: "Item paid to Henry Bob by my lordes commaundement for his faire of bringing my lady his mother to Mortlak and from thens to London the testern at vj d, xxvj s. viij d. Canc' quia postea".

his fare of brunging my lady his mother⁵⁹ to Mortlak and
from thens to London, xxvj s. viij d.

Item paid . . . pagina ix li. viij s. j d.
[fo. 5v]

Given
Item delivered unto my lady by thandes of Mastre
Lassels⁶⁰ at my lordes commaundement given unto her lady
towardses her furniture at the commying in of the
Scottishe quene⁶¹ mense Novembris anno v^{to} predicti, xxx
li.

My lordes commaundement
Item delivered to Master John Paston by like
commaundement eodem mense, x li.
Item paid unto Master Yong that instaunt by lik
commaundement for money my lord ought unto him, x li.

Item paid, and delivered . . . Armorer
Item paid to the armorer for his wages the space of xvij
daies the xvjth of the same monith, xvij s.

Item paid for the carriage . . . Stable
Item paid to Thomas a Dale for money he laied out about
reparacions necessarie of the stable eodem mense, xlvij
s. ix d.

Item paid to Richard Gates⁶² for money in like maner by

⁵⁹ I.e. the Countess Dowager, Eleanor Paston, sister
of the aforementioned John Paston.

⁶⁰ I.e. George Lascelles.

⁶¹ I.e. Mary de Guise.

⁶² He was a yeoman usher for Rutland's household from
Christmas 1552 (BCA 59); See also BCA 62.

him disbursed touching the said stable at my lordes
commaundement, xvj s. ij d.

Item paid to Sir William Stoderd in part of his bill for
money by him likewise disbursed touching the said stable
and armory eodem mense, ix s.

pagina liiiij li. x s. xj d.

[fo. 6]

Rewarde

Item paid in reward to the tellers of the Tower for
dispeche of bothe the said warrauntes, x s.⁶³

Nececarijs

Item paid for lether bagges for the said money, ij s.

Item given in rewarde to a porter for carying the same
from the Tower to Halliwell, viij d.

Haye and Strawe

Item paid and delivered by thandes of Thomas a Dale for
iiij lodes of haye at xxij s. the lood mense Decembris
anno v^{to} predicti,⁶⁴ iiij li. viij s.

Item paid for the caryage of the same from the wharfe to
Halliwell by thandes of the said Thomas, iiij s.

Item paid for cordes for the same haie, ij s.

Item for loding the same, ij d.

Item for the said Thomas his diner that daie, iiij d.

⁶³ These are in PRO PC 2/4, pp. 317, 409 (APC iii, pp. 293, 385).

⁶⁴ "x" crossed out. The "s" following has been written over with a "d" (or vice-versa) and the erroneous figure of £4 8 d. has been added into the totals for the MS. page (as well as for total payments) instead of the correct figure of £4 8 s.

Item to the couper that tyme, vj d.

Item paid for v carres from broken wharfe to Halliwell,
iiij s. iiiij d.

Item paid by thandes of the said Thomas for carying a
loode of haie to Hennege Howse⁶⁵ and wharfage of the same
mense Jannuary anno v^{to} predicti, viij d.

Item more eodem mense for v carres from the wharfe to
Halliwell, iij s. iiiij d.

pagina Cvij s. viij d.⁶⁶

[fo. 6v]

Item paid more eodem mense for one lode of haie to
Hennege Howse with wharfage of the same, viij d.

Item more unto the said Thomas for cariage of strawe
eodem mense for my lordes horses at two tymes, x s.

Pley

Item delivered to my lord to pley at cardes with Master
Savage⁶⁷ eodem mense, ij s.

Bote Hier

Item for bote hier iiiij tymes to Grenewich and home eodem
mense by L[sic] my lordes commaundement with myn expenses
there, iij s.

Stable

⁶⁵ This is almost certainly the London residence of Sir Thomas Heanage (d. 1553), chief gentleman of the chamber under Henry VIII, whose county seat at Haiton, Lincs. was not far from Belvoir Castle (T. Allen, History of the County of Lincoln (2 vols., 1834), ii. 68.

⁶⁶ This total actually should be 115 s.

⁶⁷ Most likely Henry Savage. See Rutland MSS iv, pp. 321, 363.

Item delivered to my lordes horsekeeper at Grenewiche
that kept grete horses there eodem mense, vj s. viij d.

Armorer

Item paid to tharmorer for his wages the first of January
aforesaide, xxx s.

Bokes

Item paid for the bishop of Canterbury his boke by my
lordes commaundement, v s.

Nececariis

Item paid for ij sackes of cooles to drye the velvet
cotes after the musters, xiiij d.⁶⁸

Item to a woman for brushing and making clene the same ij
daies, xij d.

Armorer

Item paid to tharmorer for nailes and buckles mense
Marcij anno vj^{to} predicti Regis, ij s. and for iij skynnes
of lether, ij s, iiij s.

Item for oile and nailes ij tymes eodem mense, xxij d.

pagina lxv s. iiij d.

[fo. 7]

Trumpeter

Item paid for a newe trumpet against the musters mense
maij anno vj^{to} predicti, l s.⁶⁹

Item for silk girdles for the trumpet, xvij s.

⁶⁸ This is the muster of 7 Dec. 1551.

⁶⁹ This is the muster of 16 May 1552. Rutland MSS
iv, pp. 370 recorded that Rutland sent his great horses
down to London for this muster. This is confirmed in
BCMD 1552.

Riding charges

Item delivered to Joke the lacky going from London to my lordes immediatlle after the same musters for his expenses, iiij s.

Item to the newe armorer for his charges from London to Theagle, vj [s. viij] d.

Item paid for the hier of ij hackeney horses from London to the Court in progresse sent by my lord and there attending xviiij daies mense July anno vj^{to} predicti, xxx s.

Item for myn owne expenses at London and the Court in progresse attending upon my lordes affaires from the xxth of Aprill unto xiiijth of August anno vj^{to} predicti being Cxviij daies at xx d. the daie, counting therin my botehier to Grenewiche and my riding charges in the progresse as also for my charges riding to London and home by the space of viij daies by my lordes commaundement mense Novembris anno vj^{to} predicti, x li. v s. iiij d.

pagina xv li. xiiij s.

[fo. 7v]

Summa omnium solutionum predictarum, Dlxvij li. xj d.⁷⁰

videlicet:

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| mydsomer wages | Cxxix li. iij s. iiij d. |
| Michaelmas wages | ^{xx} Ciiij xix li iij s. iiij d |
| prestes to the band | xlij li. xiiij s. iiij d. |

⁷⁰ The total actually should be £572 8 s. 3 d.

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| armorers | xiiij li. xix s. |
| harneis | xxx li. |
| staves | v li. xv s. |
| bittes | iiij li. iiij s. |
| hey strawe and otes | vij li. xv s. ij d. ⁷¹ |
| prest to Whalley | xvij li. |
| debtes | xx li. xiiij s. iiij d. |
| comaundement of my lord | |
| videlicet to Paston et Yong | xx li. |
| riding charges | vj li. viij d. |
| botehier | xxix s. viij d. |
| given to my lady | xxx li. |
| stable | iiij li. xix s. vij d. |
| reward | C s. ⁷² |
| play and bokes | vij s. |
| trumpet | lxviij s. |
| necessary expenses | x li. x s. ⁷³ ij d. |
| losses of money | xx li. xvj s. iiij d. |
| Et sic videtur habere in superplusagio, xx li. xvij s. vij d. ⁷⁴ | |

examinatum per Anthonium Williams auditorem

⁷¹ The total actually should be £7 15 s. 6 d.

⁷² The total actually should be 110 s.

⁷³ "iiij" crossed out.

⁷⁴ This means that Bateman had spent more than he had received; the "superplusagium" was not money in hand but the amount the earl owed to him. The figure actually should be £21 4 s. 11 d.

[fo. 1v]

Articles of orders for the men of armys sent
to must[er at] London the xv day of May anno
regni Regis Edwardi vj^{ti} vj^{to}.

All the men of armys that have dooble enterteynment to
fynd them selfs their horsys and their men and their
horsis.

All men of armys that have syngle enterteynment to fynd
them selfys and their horsis and their men and their
horsis beyng not my lordys horsis.

All my lordys men that have no enterteynment and my
lordys xx^{ti} horsis and j geldyng to be orderyd in this
manner.

By the Way

The gentlemen by them self at the inkepers ordyinary bord
paying for everi person as the ordinary for a gentleman.
The yomen in lyke manner to be usyd paying as for a
yoman.

The stuard to ryde before and to move the inkeper for the
same provysion.

Every of my lordys horsis evri nyght by the way to have

⁷⁵ This is a very rough working account containing numerous corrections made to it at the time. In every case, these corrections have been included. However, for the sake of clarity, no attempt has been made to identify the relatively unimportant superseded items. Official sources give the date of the muster as 16 May not the day earlier as is mentioned below. However, 15 May may have been the actual date on which Rutland's men arrived in London.

-- xij d. alowancys.

At London

All enterteyned and not enterteynyd to lye to gether in
certeyn ins to be appoyntyd for them by the liewtenant.
The stuard to take order with the inkeper for my lordys
men not enterteynyd and for the enterteynyd for them
selfes for boordwagis by the weke at my lordys charge.
My lordys horsys to stond at Halywell, hey provender and
lytter to be provydyd for them.

Every horse to have by the weke j bis x d. and so after
the rate.

The lieutenant maister John Constable to have the order
of the fyfty men of armys.

Gyles Bygges to have the order of the horsis and j
geldyng.

George Pylkyngton to pay all manner of chargis as is
concernyng my lords alowiancecys and to kepe an ordinary
booke therof.

[fo. 2]

[men-at-arms] [their own horsing] [Rutland's horsing]

Gyles Byggys ij

George Pylkyngton ij

John Constable man ij

Thomas Markham ij

Tristram Tyrwhyt ij

Laurence Turkeyngton ij

William Norton ij

| | | |
|-------------------------------|----|---|
| Launcelot Pykeryng | ij | |
| Cristofer Ayer | ij | |
| Thomas Osbaston | ij | |
| Michael Thomson | ij | |
| Andrew Huddelston | j | j |
| Thomas Bambruggh | | j |
| Robert Trafford ⁷⁶ | ij | |
| Edmunde Barwyk ⁷⁷ | ij | |
| Robert Waleys ⁷⁸ | ij | |
| Henry Hawtry | ij | |
| Lancelot Morley | j | |
| Robert Mearyng ⁷⁹ | j | |
| Thomas Cranner | j | |
| Thomas Dodsley | j | |
| William Yaxley | ij | |
| Hamond Upton | ij | |
| Rafe Watson ⁸⁰ | | j |
| John Hogard ⁸¹ | | j |
| John Bate ⁸² | | j |

⁷⁶ BCA 59; BCA 62.

⁷⁷ BCA 331.

⁷⁸ Rutland MSS iv, pp. 261 (although this may refer to an older relative).

⁷⁹ BCA 59; BCA 62.

⁸⁰ BCA 59; BCA 61A fos. 46-55; BCA 62; BCA 331.

Unlike the previous men-at-arms, Watson and many of the men listed below do not appear in the household accounts until after the creation of Rutland's band. However, they, for the most part, remained with Rutland after the dis-banding.

⁸¹ Rutland MSS iv, p. 367; BCA 331.

⁸² BCA 61A fos. 46-55; BCA 62; BCA 331.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Thomas Colly ⁸³ | j |
| Richard the Rydar | j |
| George Wyn ⁸⁴ | j |
| Cutbert Bery ⁸⁵ | j |
| Thomas Spret ⁸⁶ | j |
| Roger Kyrkham ⁸⁷ | j |
| The Smyth | j |
| [Richard] Gatys | j |
| The Trumpetter | j geldyng |

At their own horsyng -- xxxvjj

At my lordys horsyng -- xvj

horsis xx, geldyngs j, at xij d. the nyght by x nyghts to
and from London x li. x s.

At my lordys charge by the way -- xiiij at xij d. the day
-- xiiij s. by v days -- iij li. v s. which from London in
the hole vj li. x s.

At my lordys charge at London -- xxxvj at v s. the weke
in the hole ix li.

For hey -- vj lode at xv s. the lode iiiij li. x s.

Otys by a weke for xxj horsis at j bis x d. for a horse,
iiiij quarters at vj s. viij d. the quarter xxvj s. viij d.

⁸³ Possibly the Master Colly referred to in Rutland MSS i, pp. 155.

⁸⁴ BCA 61A fos. 46-55; BCA 331; Rutland MSS i, p. 62.

⁸⁵ BCA 59; BCA 61A fos. 46-55; BCA 62; BCA 331.

⁸⁶ Surname also spelt "Sprytt" or possibly "Sprat", see BCA 331 & BCA 62.

⁸⁷ BCA 59; BCA 61A fos. 46-55; BCA 62; BCA 331.

Saddles nue -- vj at xliiij s the pece -- xiiij li. iiij s.
Stafys vj at -- iiij s. the pece -- xxiiij s.
Other chargis -- iiij li. ij s. iiij d.
The total by gesse -- 1 li.

TRANSCRIPTION OF BCB 1552

The manuscript transcribed below is a bill which gives the amounts the second earl of Rutland paid to various workmen in 1552 for removing materials from lands connected with Rievaulx Abbey. The second earl therefore continued his father's practice of making the best possible economic use of his former monastic property. This indicates not only that Rutland was concerned with maximizing profits in Yorkshire, but also that he was actively seeking ways to overcome his problems with debt. Timber, glass, lead, and slate were removed from various edifices (including a school house) and placed in storage rooms (i.e. the garner and garth) for use on other of his properties or for resale.

BCB 1552

Ryvaulx' in comitatu Eboraci

Money dysburssid for takyng downe and leying up of tymber glasse and slatte etc. there in anno vj^{to} Regis Edwardi sexti as hereafter¹ doth appere:

Paid to John Tort and Martyn Balrygg of Ryvalx' laborers for takyng downe the tymber of the scolehowse --
iiij s.

Paid to Robert Boost and William Robson of Ryvaulx' laborers for caryng of the same tymber frome thens to the

¹ Some unidentifiable word is crossed out here.

cloyster chamber and for removyng of certen glasse owt of that chamber in to the long garner -- iij s. iiij d. and for takyng downe of the slatte that was on the entree that ledyth frome the cloyster in to the new hall and setting up of the same in the garth ther -- xvj d. in toto -- iiij s. viij d.

Paid to John Tort and Martyn Balryk aforesaid for takyng downe of tymber and certen bordes of the three chambers on the estsyde of the new hall and beryng of the same in to the long garner -- iij s. x d.

Paid to the Martyn Balrygg and Thomas Gudwell and Robert Mylson for the takyng downe of the leed of the said iij chambers -- iiij s. iiij d.

Paid to the said Martyn Balrygg, Robert Mylson and William Robson for takyng downe of the leed of the water howse ther -- ij s.

Paid to the said Mylson and Robson for beryng of certen taken of the howses aforesaid over and besydes that is abovemensyenyd -- xv d.

Summa -- xx s. j d.

TRANSCRIPTION OF BCL iii, p. 37

Transcribed below is BCL iii, fo. 37 which confirms C.S.L. Davies' assumption that, regarding the recruitment of men for the 1557 French war: "it seems probable that it was on the normal 'quasi-feudal' basis, the nobles and gentlemen taking part supplying troops from their servants and tenants."¹ Specifically, this manuscript contains instructions Rutland gave to a few of his men in regard to preparing various of his servants and tenants in Yorkshire for service in the 1557 French campaign. It also indicates payments were to be made by various of his farmers who would not be serving. This is a rare and interesting document which is mentioned only in passing by the Historical Manuscript Commission² and is transcribed for the first time below.

[BCL iii, fo. 37]

The Copie of Thinstruccions

Instructyons made and given to my ser[vants] Nicholas Powtrell James Ellerker Rich[ard Ellerkar] of Yolton and William Sigrave the xvij [of] 1557 touchinge the preparinge my servants [and] tenantes in Yorkeshire for the service of the kin[ges] and quenes maiesties. First that the said Nicholas Powtrell James Ellerker

¹ Davies, p. 165.

² Rutland MSS i, p. 68.

Richard Ellerkar and William Sigrave or three or two of ³
you do furwith cause such my servantes whose names be in
this sedule to put them selves in order to serve as light
horsemen accordinge to the tenor of the said sedule.

Item to take order that the rest of my servantes and
tenantes do pay money accordinge to the tenor of there
indentures and the quantytie and rate of there fermes,
the same money presently to be redye and to be payd unto
thandes of yow William Sygrave.

Item that ye forsee to use this in suche maner and sorte
as the said tenantes may beleve to go themselves in
person to thende they may the more franklye pay money
which I must employ as necessitie doth now require.

Item that ye doo nevertheles use such discrecion therin
as there may no clamor or evell brute aryse thereon.

Item that ye doo also geve like order to the tenantes of
Howsom as ye doo unto myne.

Item that ye doo rate all such my said tenantes as sitt
on fermes of v marke rent and above proporcionablye as ye
doo thother of lesse rente.⁴

Item that ye doo take order that all such my tenantes as
do sytt upon the rente frome v markes upwarde do pay
accordinge to the rate.

Item that all those that do refuse to goo them selves in

³ "them" is crossed out.

⁴ In the margin, between this and the next line, is
written:

"m
Thim".

person shall then geve for the findinge of men to serve
in therestedes accorddinglye as other my tenantes doo.
Item I do refferre this to the discrecion of the said
Nicholas Powtrell, and other my seruantes joynde with him
in the premisses.

[signed] Rutland

[fo. 37v]

Henry earl of Rutland in Queene Maryes tynme.

Instruccions from my lord to Nicholas Putrell and others
to provide convenyent men for he as [sic] service.

TRANSCRIPTION OF BCW 14

Below is transcribed the will of the second earl of Rutland written in July 1560, just before he went north to serve as president of the Council of the North.¹ After the earl's death, legal disputes over the execution of the will developed² and it was never proved. The original still remains in Belvoir Castle. It is not mentioned in the HMC Reports and appears below in print for the first time.³

There are various points of interest in the will. Rutland specifically mentions his "exceedynge great dettes". He named Sir James Dyer, chief justice of the Common Pleas as his supervisor. Sir Nicholas Bacon, is listed among his executors, as are George Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir William Cecil. The latter was master of the Court of Wards and Liveries and obtained the wardship of the young third earl of Rutland. Rutland's inclusion of the latter in his memorandum (added to the will on 12 September 1563 just five days before his death) makes it appear very likely that he was eager either to have Cecil obtain the wardship, or at least to

¹ This is a full transcription of the original will except that a few of the more lengthy and obvious redundancies have been left out. Where this has happened a [etc.] appears.

² See for example, PRO C3/156/31.

³ A copy of the will appears in PRO C142/139, no. 103, and a few details of the will are mentioned by some authorities.

create a situation similar to that which existed between him and William Paulet, Lord St. John, at the time of the death of the first earl of Rutland.

[BCW 14, fo. 1]

In the name of Gode amen. The fyfthe day of Julye in the second yere of the reigne of our soveraigne Ladye Elyzabeth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland quene defendor of the faythe etc. and in the yere of our Lord God a thousand fyve hundrethe and thre score. **I Henrye** Erle of Rutland beyinge presently whole in bodye and of God and perfect memory (thankes be to God) yett callinge unto my remembrance that thende of all men by thordynance and provydence of allmightye God ys deathe, albeyt the tyme is uncerten, wherefore we be commaunded to be allwayes redye and prepared for the same, I have thought yt therefore convenyent (consyderinge to how many perilles my liff ys subiect) to put and sett sum order and disposycion of all suche honores castles manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes and of all suche goodes and cattalles as God (farre above my meryttes) hathe called me to be owner of and endowed me wythe, by the doyinge wherof I doo not onely recognise the goodenes of allmightye God for my vocacion and for his benefyttes and gyftes bestowed uppon me but allso dyscharge the dutye I owe unto my wyf and children for their preferrementes, and provide for the satysfaccion and payment of myn exceedynge great dettes in dyscharge of my

conscience, and therefore I doo by thes presentes now
revoke renounce and repell all former willes and
testamentes by me heretofore at any tyme made, and I doo
ordeigne make and declare this my last will and testament
concerninge the order rule and dyspocycion of all my
manores landes tenementes heredytamentes goodes and
catalles in maner and forme as hereafter foloweth. **Furst**
I bequeythe my soule to allmyghtye God the creator and
redemer therof, and yf it shall fortune me to dye wythin
this realme of England then I will my bodye to be buried
in the parishe church of Bottesford in the countye of
Leycestre, and yf it fortune me to decease out of this
realme, then I will that eyther my body (yf it
conveniently may be) or ells my harte be brought into
this realme and buried wythin the said parishe church of
Bottesford, and I will that myne executores shall cause a
tombe mete for myne estate to be made there for my said
bodye or harte, and as towching the resydue of my
funeralles I leave yt to thorder of myne executores to
doo and accomlishe the same accordinge to theyr
dyscresyons and as shall stande wythe myne estate and
callinge. **And as** towching thorder and dyspocycion of my
honores castles manores landes tenementes and
heredytamentes furst I will and bequeythe to my faythe
full and entyerly beloved wiff for and in the name of her
joynture and dower and for full recompence and
satisfaccion therof all my lordshipes and monores of

Melton Roose Wragby and Freston and Freston baylywyke
wythe Butterwyke in the countye of Lincoln and all my
landes tenementes and heredytamentes being parcell⁴ or
reputed or taken as parte parcell or membre of the
baylywyke of Freston or wythin the office or charge of
the baylif of the same baylywike and all other my landes
tenementes and heredytamentes in Melton Roose Bekeby
Kyrmington Wrawby Barneby Ulceby Glamford Brige Ellshame
Wotton Wragby Haughton Herwycke Kynthorpe East Tyrryngton
West Tyrryngton Boroughe upon Bayne Haynton Freston
Butterwyke Toft and Benyngton in the said countye of
Lincoln and allso my lordshippes and manores of Eagle and
Gouxhull togyther wythe the scyte and demeanes of the
late commaundrye of the Eagle in the said countye of
Lincoln Sutton upon Trent Eykeringe and Warsoppe in the
countye of Nottingham and of Freth Croxton Keryall and
Statherne alias Saturne in the countye of Leycestre
Raventhorpe and Boltbye in the countye of Yorke and
Wallcamstow Tonye in the countye of Essex wythe all and
singuler their rightes members and appurtenances and all
that my graunge called Hesketh graunge in Heskethe
Raventhorpe and Bolteby in the said countye of Yorke, and
all those my landes tenementes and heredytamentes called
Harom Ynges Scalton croft wythe Orlyance in Scalton and
Harom in the said county of Yorke, and allso all those my
landes tenementes and heredytamentes wythin the realme of

⁴ This word is interlined.

England which be called or knowne by the name of the
scyte and demeanes of the Eagle and by the severall names
of the lordshippes or manores of Eagle Gouxhill Sutton
upon Trent Eykeringe Warsoppe Fretheby Croxton Keriall
Statherne alias Saturne Reventhorpe Bolteby Wallcamstow
Tony Hesketh graunge Harom Ynges Scaltun croft with
Orlyance or which be used accepted or reputed no parte
parcell or membre of the same scyte demeanes lordshippes
or manores grange and other the premisses or of⁵ eny of
them whythe all and singuler their appurtenances and all
so all and singuler my mesuages landes tenementes rentes
reuercions services proffittes commodytes commens
marisses woodes underwoodes and heredytamentes what
soeuer sett lyinge and beinge in the townes felde
parishes and hamlettes of Eagle and Gouxhill in the said
countye of Lincoln Sutton upon Trent Eykeringe and
Warsoppe in the said countye of Nottingham Croxton
Knypton and Harston sumtyme parcell of the late dissolved
monastery of Croxton Statherne alias Saturne Fretheby
Stapleford and Stonesby in the countye of Leycestre
Hesketh Raventhorpe Bolteby Scaltun and Harom in the said
countye of Yorke and Wallcamstow Tonye in the said
countye of Essex wythe all and singuler theyr
appurtenances, and all and all manner of courtes leetes
vyewes of franckenplege lybertyes iurisdiccions and
perhemynences used enioyed and occupied or whiche of

⁵ This word is interlined.

right ought to be used occupied or enjoyed wythin or by
reasoene of eny of the said lordshippes or manores and
other the premisses. **To have** hold and enioye all and
singuler the said lordshippes or manores of Mellton Roose
[etc.] to her and her assignes for and duringe her
naturall lyf, and after her decease I will that all and
singuler the said lordshippes or manores of Melton Roose
[etc.] shall wholly remaigne and come to the furst
begotten sone of the body of me the said earle by my sayd
wyf lawfully begotten and to the heyres males of the body
of my said furst begotten sone lawfully begotten and for
defalte of suche yssue and after the deathe of my said
wif to the seconde sone of the bodye of me the said earle
by my said wif lawfully begotten and to the heyres males
of the bodye of my said seconde sone lawfully begotten,
and for defalt of suche yssue and after the decease of my
said wife to the thirde sone of the bodye of me the said
erle by my said wyf lawfully begotten and the heyres
males of the body of my sayd thirde sone lawfully
begotten, and for defalte of suche yssue and after the
decease of my said wyf to the heyres males of the bodye
of me the said erle by my said wyf lawfully begotten, and
for defalte of suche yssue and after the deathe of my
said wyf to the right heyres of me the said erlefor ever,
Ande to have holde and enioye all and singuler the sayd
scyte and demeanes of the Eagle and the sayd lordshippes
and manores of the Eagle [etc.] to my said wif and to her

assignes for and duringe her naturall lif to her owne
propre use and behouse, and where I am seased of estate
in fee symple in possession of and in the scyte and
demeannes of the late dyssolved monastery of Ryvalx in
the said county of Yorke wythe all the members and
appurtenances and of and in the manores of Ryvalx
Skyplome and Byllesdayle in the said countye of Yorke
late parcell of the possessions of the sayd late
dyssolved monastery of Ryvalx in the said countye of
Yorke wythe all and singuler theyr rightes membres and
appurtenances and of and in the manor of Roppesley wythe
thappurtenances in Roppesley Humby and Esgatheby in the
countye of Lincoln and of and in the manor of Orston and
the soke in the said countye of Nottingham wythe all
their appurtenances and of and in the scytes and
demeanes⁶ of the late dyssolved monasteries of Croxton
and Garowdone in the countye of Leycestre with all and
singuler their members and appurtenances the manores of
Muston Normanton Garowdown Thorpe Hawker Dyxley
Bottesford alias Bottlesford Redmyle Barkstone Howes
Eaton Braunston and Waltham upon the Wolde and of and in
the rectorye or parsonage of Dyxley and of and in certen
landes tenementes and heredytamentes in Croxton
Forynsicum and of and in the graunges of Byskamby Dyxley
and Halywell Hawghe with all and singuler their rightes
members and appurtenances in the countye of Leyceystre or

⁶ These last two words are interlined.

ells where within the realme of England to the said
severall scytes demeanes and manores and other the
premisses or to eny of them apperteyninge or belonginge
or beinge accepted as parte parcell or membre of the same
or eny of them and of and in the manores of Hackford
Holte and Cley in the countye of Norffolk wythe all and
singuler their rightes members and appurtenances, and of
and in diverse other landes tenementes rentes revercions
services medowes leasures pastures commons and
heredytamentes wythe all their appurtenances sett lyinge
and beinge in Ryvalx [etc.] for the speciall trust and
confydence whiche I have and doo repose in the sayd Lady
Brygitt my said wyf I will yf she will take upon her
thexecucion of this my last will and testament that she
onely and yf she refuse that the right honorable Sir
Nicholas Bacon knight lord keper of the greate⁷ seale⁸
Gylbert Gerrard the quenes maiesties atturney generall
and Antonye Thorold esquires John Conyers and John
Bateman gentlemen and the survyvor or survyvores of them
shall have hold⁹ enioye and take peaceably and quyetly
frome the day of my deathe all and singuler the same sayd
scytes demeanes rectories manores graunges landes
tenementes heredytamentes and other the premisses wythe
all and singuler theyr rightes members and appurtenances

⁷ This word is interlined.

⁸ "Sir Edward Waryner knight lieutenante of the tower"
is crossed out after this word.

⁹ "and" is crossed out after this word.

whereof I am so seised in fee symple in possession as is afforsaid and all the yerely yssues rentes revenues and proffittes¹⁰

[fo. 2]

comynge growinge renewinge and rysinge of and in all and singuler the said scytes demeanes rectories manores graunges landes tenementes heredytamentes and other the premisses wythe their appurtenaunces for and duringe the terme and space of xxj yeres then next ensuyng aswell for and towerdes the payment of my dettes and other the gyftes legacyes and bequestes comprysed in this my last will and testament as allso for and towerdes the costes and charges of myne executores in the preparinge and honest orderinge of my funeralles and of all other costes and charges that my executores or the survyvors of them or eny or them shall dysburce susteyne and lay out in or about thexecucion of this my last will and testament or in or about the defence of eny accion or sute in the lawe which shall happen to be commenced by or¹¹ agenst them or eny of them by reason of this my last will and testament or as executores of the same. **And allso** I will that my said wif (yf she will and doo¹² take upon her thexecucion of this my last will and testament) and yf she refuse that then the said Nicholas Bacon lorde keper of the

¹⁰ Rutland's signature appears at the bottom of this page.

¹¹ These last two words are interlined.

¹² This word is interlined.

seale¹³ Gylbert Gerrard Antonye Thorold John Conyers and John Bateman or the survyvor or survyvores of them wythe the yssues revenues and proffyttes of the sayd premisses so bequeythed for xxj yeres as is afforsaid shall duringe all the sayd terme well and truely pay all suche yerely rentes reserved fee fermes tenthes annuyties fees pencions and prestes wages as frome tyme to tyme duringe the sayd terme shalbe due and payable to our sayd sovereigne ladye the quene her heyres and successores or to eny other person or persons out of eny of my honoures castles manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes what so ever wythin the realme of England wherof I the said Erle am seized of an estate of frehold in possession the day of my deathe, and for a furder and better explanacion and declaracion of myne intent and meanyng I will that duringe the said terme of xxj yeares next after my deathe my said entierly and trustye beloved wyf yf she within sixe monthes next after my deathe will admynistre my goodes and cattalles and take upon her thexecucion of this my last will and testament as myne executor shall yerely wythout lett hindrance or dysturbance of the rest of myne executores receyve and take all the rentes yssues and proffittes of all and singuler my said manores landes tenementes heredytamentes and other the premisses by this my last will before bequeythed and of the same shall make

¹³ "and Sir Edward Waryner" is crossed out after this word.

payment unto suche my credytores as she thincketh most
conveinent mete and nedefull and to the performance of my
legacyes in this my last will and testament gyven and
bequeythed, and yf my said wyf wythin the sayd sixe
monethes next after my deathe doo nott or will not
admynistre nor take upon her thexecucion of this my last
will and testament or els do fortune to dye before thende
of xxj yeres next after my deathe then I will and desyre
my said trustye frendes Sir Nicholas Bacon [etc.] after
suche defalte or refusell or ymmedyately after the deathe
of my said wif to doo and execute all and everythinge and
thinges towchinge thexecucion of this my last will and
testament in lyke manner and forme as I have appoynted
and assigned my said wyf by this my last will and
testament to doo, and where my welbyloved bretheren John
Mnnners Roger Manners Thomas Manners and Olyver Manners
doo severally hold and occupye for terme of their lyves
certen manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes of
myne enherytance the revercion therof remayninge to me
and myne heyres. **I will** that yf it shall happen my said
bretheren or eny of them to dye after my decease and
before this my last will and testament be performed in
all thinges that then my said wyf yf she be then lyvinge
and do admynistre my goodes as executor as is afforsaid
or yf she doo not admynistre as is afforsaid or doo dye
that then thabovenamed Nicholas Bacon [etc.] duringe the
said space and terme of xxj yeres next after my deathe

shall have two whole partes in thre partes to be devyded of all and singuler the said manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes whiche my said bretheren and every of them doo so holde and that so shall fortune hereafter to dye for and towards the performance of this my last will and testament in lyke manner and forme and to lyke uses and intentes as I have before appoynted and assigned my said wyf yf she will admynistre and the sayd Sir Nicholas Bacon [etc.] yf she dye or will not admynistre to receyue thissues and proffyttes of other my manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes by this my last will and testament as is afforsaid. **And furder** I will that my said wyf and yf she dye or not admynistre that then the sayd Sir Nicholas Bacon [etc.] shall of thissues revenues and proffyttes yerely comynge and rysinge of and in all and singuler the said manores landes tentmentes and other the premysses lymytted in forme afforsaid for and towerdes the performance of this my last will and testament well and truely content and pay to¹⁴ Elyzabeth my daughter for and towerdes her advauncement mariage and preferment the some of a thowsand poundes of lawfull money of England in manner and forme folowinge, that ys to say yf she be not maryed before thage of xviiij yeres then at the day of her marage the somme of fyve hundreth poundes and wythin two yeres then next folowinge the some of fyve hundreth poundes by equall porcions in full

¹⁴ "the lady" is crossed out after this word.

contentacion of the sayd some of a thousand poundes, and yf the said ¹⁵ Elyzabeth my doughter be maryed before the said age of xviiij yeres then I will that the said legacye of a thowsand poundes shall be paid unto her within fyve yeres next after her mariage. **Allso** I bequeythe to the sayd lady Elyzabeth my doughter yerely thirtye poundes of lawfull money of England for and towerdes her exhibycion and fyndinge to suche tyme as she shalbe maryed or be of thage of xxj yeres the same some of xxx li. lykwyse to be paid yerely by my said wyfe yf she be lyvinge and do admynistre as is afforsaid, and after her deathe or refusell as is afforsayd by the sayd Sir Nicholas Bacon [etc.] of the rentes yssues and proffyttes of my said manores landes tenementes and other the premisses lymytted and appoynted as is afforsayad to and for the performance of this my last will and testament. **And I will** and desyre my said wif that she will take the order rule and gouvernement of my said doughter Elyzabeth and of her porcion to her by this my last will and testament bequeythed untill she be maryed or cume to and be of thage of xxj yeres. **Ande** where I am allso seased in fee symple of and in the honor castle and manores of Belwyre alias Bevoyre and Wollstroppe and of the warren¹⁶ and parke of Belvoyre wythe all and singuler their rightes members foreyn rentes and appurtenances in the countyes

¹⁵ "lady" crossed out after this word.

¹⁶ "of" is crossed out after this word.

of Lyncoln Leycestre Yorke Northampton Bedford and
Buckyngham and of and in the scyte and demeanes of the
late pryorye or celle of Belwyre and of and in diverse
other landes [etc.] in Belvoyre Wollstroppe and Denton in
the said countyes of Lincoln and Leycestre. **Ande** where
allso I am seased of and in one yerely rent of fortye and
foure quarters of wheat rated yerely at v s. the quarter
goyinge and reserved yerely out of and upon a ferme in
Hoes in the countye of Leycestre late in the tenure or
occupacion of Lewes Kempe, whiche rent whout so rated
amounteth and ys worthe xj li. and allso of and in certen
yerely rentes of corne and grayne that ys to say of xv
quarters of wheat and xxxiiij quarters of malt rentes
yerely at iiij li. goinge and reserved yerely out of and
upon certen landes and tenementes in Barkston and
Plumegarthe in the sayd countye of Leycestre now or late
beinge in the severall tenures and occupacions of Robert
Grococke Rycharde Towers Henry Brigge John Towers Robert
Tayles John White Lewes Kempe and William Blage I will
that my trustye and welbyloved wyf ymmediatlye frome and
after my decease shall have hold occupye and peaceably
enioye without lett dysturbance or intermedlinge of the
rest of myne executores or of eny others my said honors
castle and manores of Belvoyre and Wollstroppe and the
warren and parke afforsaid wythe all and singuler their
rightes members forreyn rentes and appurtenances before
reherced what so ever and where so ever they be within

this realme of England and the sayd scyte and demeanes of the sayd late monastery priory of celle of Belvoyre and all the landes tenementes and heredytamentes belonginge to the said manores and pryorye afforsaid and all other the premisses in Belvoyre Wollstroppe and Denton afforsaid wythe all their members and appurtenances and all the said rent corne of wheat and malte in Hooes Barkston and Plumgarthe afforsaid and all the mesuagies landes tenementes and fermes in Hooes Barkston and Plumegarthe afforsaid forthe which sayd rent corne ys yerely paid or payable for and duringe the terme and space of xij yeres then next and ymmediately ensuyng and after the said terme of xij yeres ended then unto suche tyme as eny next heyre beinge wythin age at the tyme of the expiration of the said xij yeres shall accomlishe cume to and be of the full age of xxj yeres. **Provyded** allwayes and my meanyng and will is that so sone as eny that ys or shalbe myne heyre male or female dothe accomlishe cume to and be of the sayd age of xxj yeres after the said xij yeres next after my deathe ended that then and frome thence furthe the estate terme and interest of my said wif in the said honor castle mannores scyte demeanes rent corne landes tenementes heredytamentes and other the premisses last recyted and to her willed as is afforsaid shall cease and not before. **Provydede** allwayes and I will that my said wyf shall frome tyme to tyme duringe the termes afforsaid well and

sufficiently repayre uphold manteigne and kepe uppe in convenient and necessarye reparicions the said castle of Belvoyre and all other the houses and buyldinges therof and all other my houses and buyldinges in Belvoyre afforsaid now remayninge and beinge in myne owne handes and occupicion and for and towerdes the reparacions afforsaid and better maintenance and upholdinge of my said house and castle of Belvoyre and of all other my said houses and buyldinges in Belvoyre afforsaid now beinge in myne owne handes and occupacion, I will that my said wif shall and may have sell take cut downe and cary frome tyme to tyme at her fre lybertye and pleasure duringe the said terme of xij yeres next after my deathe and after the same xij yeres to suche tyme as myne heyre shall cume unto and be of theage of xxj yeres yf the said heyre be not then of that age suffycient great tymber growinge and beinge within the said manor of Belvoyre and other the premisses to her lymitted and appoynted by this my last will and testament for and towerdes the reparacions and upholdinge of the sayd honor castle and other the sayd houses and buyldinges in Belvoyre afforsaid and allso suffycient and convenient fyer boote hedge boote ploweboote and carteboote to be taken and perceyved in and upon the same woodes last before mencyoned to be expended and occupied frome tyme to tyme in and about the said castle and other the premisses in Belvoyre

afforsaid,¹⁷

[fo. 3]

Provyded all wayes and furder I will that yf it shall fortune my said wyf to dye before my said heyre doo accomlishe the said age of xxj yeres then I will that after her deathe the resydue of myne executores and the longer lyver of them shall have perceyve take doo and execute all and every thinge and thinges conteyned in this my last will and testament in lyke manner and forme as I have of speciall trust and confydence herein willed and auctorised my said wyf to have and doo (the entermedlinge of my goodes cattalles juelles plate household stuff and armor onely excepted). **Allso** I will gyve and bequeythe to my said wif for and towerdes the maintenance of her house and hospytalytye all my leases terme of yeres and interestes whiche I have of and in the parsonage of Bottesford and Redmyle in the sayd countye of Leycestre and Collingham in the said countye of Nottingham to her owne use and allso¹⁸ the advousons gyft nominacion presentacion free dispocycion and right of the pronages of the parisshe churches of Bottesford Redmell Wollstropp Wragby Warsoppe and Eykeringe afforsaid for and duringe the terme of her naturall lif so that yt shall and may be lawfull to my said wyf and to her assignes at all tymes duringe the terme afforsaid

¹⁷ Rutland's signature appears at the bottom of this folio.

¹⁸ These last two words are interlined.

when so ever and as ofte as yt shall chaunce the said parisshe churches or eny of them to be void eyther by deathe resygnacion depryvacion sessyon or otherwise by eny meanes to present her and their lawfull clerke and clerkes to the ordynarye of that dyocesse or to his vycare generall in the spyrytualtyes to be parson and parsons of the same severall churches and of every of them. **And** where allso I am seised in my demeane as of fee of and in the manores of Hackford Holte and Cley wythe all and singuler their rightes members and appurtenances in the countye of Norffolk and of and in the advousons of the parishe churches of Hackford Holte and Cley in the same county of Norffolk and of and in dyverse other landes tenementes and heredytamentes sett lyinge and beinge in Hackford Reseham Whitwell Holte Cley Suyterley alias Bleikeney Wyvaton Lerensett Houworthe Egefeld Saltehouse Kellynge and Kayfeld in the said countye of Norfolk wythe all their appurtenances unto the executores of this my last will and testament and to their heyres and to the survyvor or survyvores of them and to their or his heyres to thintent that yf they or the survyvor or survyvores of them doo upon due consyderacion perceyve that they may not otherwyse satisfye my dettes gyftes and legacies and allso performe this my last will and testament accordinge to my true intent and meaninge therof with the rentes revenues commodyties and proffittes of those my landes tenementes

and heredytamentes whiche I have appoynted and declared to that use for terme of xxj yeres next after my deathe as is afforsaid that then they or the survyvor or survyvours of them shall and may at suche tymes as they shall thincke most convenient bargane and sell all and singuler the said manores of Hackford Holte and Cley wythe all their rightes members and appurtenances to gyther with the advousons of the parisshe¹⁹ churches of Hackford Holte and Cley and all other the premisses in Hackford Reseham Whitwell Holte Cley [etc.] and the money therof commynge I will shalbe employed for and towards the performance of this my last will and testament and specially towerdes the payment of my dettes and redempcion of my landes that at the day of my deathe be in morgage. **Allso** I gyve and bequeythe to John Manners my second sone for terme of his lyff for and towerdes his advauncement and preferrement all that my manor rectorye and parsonage of Helmesley in the said countye of Yorke wythe all and singuler their rightes members commodityes and appurtenances and all other my mesuagies landes tenementes glebe landes tythes oblacions proffittes comodyties advantages and heredytamentes wythe their appurtenances in Helmesley Sproxton Carleton and Harom late parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Kyrkham in the said county of Yorke of the clere yerely valew of xxxviij li. xv d. and allso my manor

¹⁹ "s" at the end of this word is crossed out.

of Roos in Holdernesse wythe their appurtenances and all
other my landes tenementes and heredytamentes in Roos
Tunstall Munckewycke Humpton Waxeham Ottringham
Aldebroughe Ryngbroughe Ederwyke Est Newton Marflete
Wollram Fossam Wydernwyke Braunceburton Byhill Atwyke
Wassand Grymston Garton Harnsey Frodingham Paall and
Heydon in the said countye of Yorke with all and singuler
their appurtenances, and all that my yerely rent of
fortye poundes goynge out of the fee ferme of the cytye
of Yorke in the cytye and countye of the sayd cytye of
Yorke and I will and do²⁰ hartely pay and desyre my said
wif that she will take and have thorder rule and
gouvernement of my said sone John Manners duringe his
mynorytye, that is to say untill suche tyme as my said
sone John Manners shall and doo accomplyshe thage of
xviiij yeres, and I will and doo fully and wholly
auctoryse and appoynt my said wyf by this my last will
and testament untill my said sone John Manners shall cume
to and be of the said age of xviiij yeres (yf he so longe
do lyve to take and receyve the yerely yssues rentes and
proffittes of all my said monores landes tenementes and
heredytamentes whiche I have gyven unto my said sone John
Manners for terme of his lif to theintent that she shall
therewythe find my said sone at the universytye of
Cambrige or Oxeford or at the innes of courte or ells
where at the dyscresyon of my said wif and she to have

²⁰ This last word is interlined.

the same duringe the said terme wythout eny accompt
therof yeldinge or making to eny parson. **And** where allso
I am seized of an estate of enheratance to me and myne
heyres of and in diverse other manores landes tenements
and heredytamentes before not mencyoned gyven nor
bequeythed by this my last will and testament which doo
amounte to the clere yerely valew of the thirde parte of
all my manores landes tenementes and other heredytamentes
wyth in the realme of England I doo permytt and suffre
them wholly to dyscend to myne heir (the woodes and
underwoodes therof growinge by me in my lyf tyme sold
onely except) to the intent our said sovereigne ladye the
quene her heyres and successores may have their wardeship
liverey and permerseason off the same premisses as the
case shallrequire accordinge to the lawes and statutes of
this realme and furder I will that²¹ my said welbyloved
wif if she²² will admynistre as myne executor as is
afforsaid, and yf she will not that then the said Syr
Nicholas Bacon [etc.] duringe the said terme and space
of xij yeres next after my deathe, and after the same xij
yeres untill suche tyme as myne heire shall accomplishe
and cume to thage of xxj yeres shall have the order
oversight rule and kepinge of all my woodes and
underwoodes growinge and beinge in and upon all and
singuler my manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes

²¹ This last word is interlined with "yf" crossed out below.

²² These last two words are interlined.

within this realme of England and lykewise shall and may
frome tyme to tyme duringe the said terme of xij yeres
and after unto such tyme as myne heyre shall come to the
said age of xxj yeres bargane sell and take all the
proffittes of the same woodes and underwoodes and allso
have free entrye egresse and regresse aswell for them
selves and their servantes as allso for all other that
shall bye eny of the same woodes or underwoodes of them
or eny of them duringe the tyme before lymitted and
appoynted into and frome the said woodes and underwoodes
bothe for the makinge of sales of in and upon all and
every the same woodes and underwoodes and for the
sellinge and caryinge the same away and allso for the
saif kepinge cherishinge and suffycient makinge of coppye
hedges rounde aboute all and every suche sale and coppye,
and the money, issues and proffittes²³ commynge rysinge
and growinge of and in all and every the same woodes
sales and coppyes to convert employe and bestowe for and
towerdes the performance of this my last will and
testament eny thinge herein conteyned to the contrarye in
eny wise not wythstandinge. **And as** concernynge thorder
and disposycion of all my goodes cattalles juelles plate
armor and householdstuff my full will mynde and intent is
in manner and forme follwinge that is to say, I gyve and
bequeythe to my sone Edward Lord Roose all myne armor

²³ "therof" is crossed out after this word.

munycion and weapons. **Item** I gyve and bequeythe to my said wif for the speciall trust and confydence that I have reposed in her all my goodes and cattalles juelles plate and household stuff what so ever yt or they be to this intent that so moche of the said goodes cattalles juelles and household stuff as may conveniently be kept unsolde after this my last will and testament be fully and truely performed in all and every poynt shalbe evenly devyded betwixt my said wif and my said sone Edward Lord Roose or suche other my sone and heyre male of my body begotten as shall furst happen to accomlishe and cume to thage of xxj yeres, and I will that my said wif shall gyve and delyver thone half of all my said goodes cattalles juelles plate and household stuff that shall so remayne unsold after my dettes paid and this my last will and testament truely performed in all thinges to my said sone Edward Lord Roose when he shall cume to and be of thage of xxj yeres or to suche other my sone and heyre male as shall furst accomlishe cume to and be of thage of xxj yeres accordinge to the true and playne meanyng of this my last will and testament. **Provyded** allwayes that yf the rentes revenues and proffyttes of my said manores landes tenementes and heredytamentes before in this my last will appoynted to be sold and the woodsales lykewise appoynted to the said will shall and may suffyce to pay all my dettes and to performe my said last will and testament in every poynt accordinge to my true

meanynge, then I will that all my said goodes cattalles
juelles and plate be wholly devided betwixt my said wif
and my said sone or other heyre male of my body begotten
as is afforsaid, and yf I have no issue male of my body
begotten then I will my said wyf shall have all the said
goodes cattalles juelles plate and household stuff to her
owne use, and I make executores of this my last will and
testament my said wif the said Sir Nicholas Bacon lord
keeper of the seale²⁴ Gylbert Gyrrard Antonye Thorold
John Conyers and John Bateman, and I gyve and bequeythe
to the sade lord keper of the seale forty poundes²⁵
Gylbert Gerrard forty poundes, Antonye Thorold fortye
poundes and to the said John Conyers and John Bateman
eyther of them xx li. for ther travayle and paynes to be
taken by every of them in and about the execucion of this
my last will and testament, and I doo ordeigne and make
the right honorable Thomas therle of Sussex and Sir James
Dyer knight chief justice of the commen plees supervysor
of this my last will and testament prayinge them to ayde
and assyst my said executores yf nede require and to se
this my last will and testament duely performed and for
their paynes I will that eyther of them shall have one
geldinge and for a playne and certen declaracion and full
testimonye that is this my last will and testament I have

²⁴ "Sir Edward Waryner" is crossed out after this word.

²⁵ "Sir Edward Maryner forty poundes" is crossed out
after this word.

to the same subscriybed my name and sett my seale²⁶ the
day and yere above said in the presence of: [signed]
Frances Hussey, Thomas Dysney, Jeffry Edmondson, Edward
Haryngton.

[fo. 4]

Memorandum that this present xijth daye of Septembre in
the fyfthe yere of the reigne of our soveraigne Ladie
Quene Elizabeth the said Henrye Erle of Rutland (God
be prayسد) beinge in perfitte memorye do affirme ratifye
and publishe this will hereunto annexed to be my last
will and testament in all and everye poynte clause
article word and sentence not repugnant or contrayant to
this scedule the which scedule I will also to be annexed
to my said will, and that the same shalbe parcell of the
same my last will and testament, as yf the same had bene
all wrytten and published entierlie at one tyme, and that
all and everye matter in the said former parte of my last
will and testament furst declared whiche is repugnant and
contrarye to the scedule nowe newlie annexed and enlarged
shall geve place to the wordes and meaninges of this
scedule, and shalbe observed and performed accordinge to
the said scedule. **Furst for someche** as it hath pleased
God duringe my lyf, to call to his mercy oute of this
transitorye lyf, my said brother Oliver Manners in the
said former parte of my will named. **I will** that my said
entierlie beloved wyf (yf she will and doo take upon her

²⁶ Rutland's seal is still intact.

the execucion of this my laste will and testament, and yf she refuse that then the said Sir Nicholas Bacon lord keper of the greate seale of England and all other myne executores²⁷ or the survivor or survivors of them after suche defalte or refusell or ymmediatlly after the deathe of my said wyffe shall have hold enioye and take peaceablie and quietlie frome the daye of my deathe, all and singuler the manors landes tenementes revercions services and hereditamentes withe all and singler theire appurtenances which latlye came to me by the decease of my said brother Oliver of which same said late brother in his lyf tyme was seized of an estate of freehold in possession or otherwyse, and all the yerelie yssues rentes revenues and proffettes remaining and rysinge of and in all and singuler the same premysses for and duryng the space and terme of xxj yeres then nexce ensuinge aswell for and towards the payment of my debtes and other the gyftes legacies and bequestes comprysed in my said last will and testament as also for and towards the costes and charges of myne executores whiche they or enie of them shall susteyne or dysburse by reason of this my last will and testament or as executores of the same.

Item I will geve and bequeathe to my brother Thomas Mannores one yerlie rente of fortie poundes goinge oute of my manor landes tenementes and hereditamentes withe the appurtenances in Walltam of the wold in the countie of

²⁷ These last four words are interlined.

Leycestre duringe his naturall lyffe, yerelie to be paid, at the feastes of Saint Michael and thannunciacion of our Ladie, duringe the same terme by even porcions the firste payment therof to beginne and be at suche of the same feastes as shall furste happen nexte after my decease, and yf the same yerlie rente of fortie poundes or enie parte therof happen at enie tyme hereafter duringe the lyfe of my said brother Thomas to be behind and unpaid in parte or in all by the space of one monethe nexte after enie of the said feastes or dayes in whiche the same oughte to be paid as is afforsaid yf it be lawfullie demanded, then I will that it shalbe lawfull to the same my said brother Thomas to entre and dystreyne in the said manor of Waltam and other the premisses in Waltam afforsaid and the same to reteyne and kepe to suche tyme as the same yerlie rente and tharreragies yf enie be shalbe to him fullie satisfied contented or paid. **Item for somoche** as all my manores landes temementes and hereditamentes in the countie of Norffolk mencyoned in the said former part of this my last will and testamente are nowe sold by me in my lyf tyme, I will that my said wyf and the rest of myne executores or the survivor or survivors of them shall by their dyscresions bargayne and sell in fee simple or otherwyse so moche of my fee simple landes tentementes and hereditamentes before by my said last will appoynted to the performance of the same

as shalbe of the cleare yerlie value of²⁸ one hundrethe poundes by the yere, and withe the monye therof comynge or made I will that they shall paye and redeme so moche of my landes tenementes and hereditamentes by me in my lyf tyme morgaged as all the same some therfore by them to be receyved shall and will amounte and extend unto, witheoute frawd or delaye. **Item I will** and my playne will and meaninge is that yf all my dettes legacyes funeralles and other charges and exspences of my said executores for and aboute thexecucion of this my last will and testament before thend of twentie and one yeres nexte after my decease shall happen to be fullie defrayed contented or paid withe the yssues and profittes of the scyte demeanes and manores of Ryvalles and of other manores landes tenementes and hereditamentes before in this my last will and testamente appoynted willed or bequeathed to my said wyf or to my other executores for those purposes as afforsaid my next heire then lyvinge beinge of the full age of xxj yeres, that then and frome thenceforthe after the same shall be so whollie iustlie and fullye satisfied contented or paid, the said legacye and bequeste of the said scyte demaynes manores and other the premisses shall cease and that my said heire then beinge of full age shall frome thenceforthe have and entre into the same this or theire owne use witheout interrupcion or lett of my said wyffe or of enie other of

²⁸ Some unidentifiable numbers crossed out here.

my said executores enie thinge before²⁹ in my said last will or testamente conteyned to the contrarye in enie wise not withstandinge. **Item where by** the former parte of this my last will and testament I did geve and bequeathe to my said wyffe and to her assignes emongest other thinges thadvowsons gyfte nominacion presentacion free dysposicion and righte of the pronages of the paryshe churches of Bottesforthe Redmell and Wollstroppe for and durynge her naturall lyfe, nowe I doo revoke by this scedule that parte of my said will for somoche as onlie extendethe to the gyft or bequest of those thre pronages and for no more, and for the residue of the pronages withe the same bequeathed (thes iij excepted) I will that the same bequeste shall stand and be good.

Item I will and my full intent and meaninge is that ymmediatlie after³⁰ Edward Rosse my sonne or enie other my nexte heire shall come to and be of the full age of xxj yeres, that he or they so lyvinge and beinge³¹ of the said age of xxj yeres shall then and at all tymes after the said age entre into all and singuler the said castle and manors³² of Belvoire alias Beyvoire and Wollstroppe and of the warren and parke of Belvoire withe all and singuler theire rightes members, foren rentes, and appurtenances in the counties of Lincoln Leicestre Yorke

²⁹ This last word is interlined.

³⁰ This last word is interlined.

³¹ These last two words are interlined.

³² These last two words are interlined.

Northampton Bedfordthe, and Buckingham, and of and in the
scyte and demeanes of the late pryorye or celle of
Belvoire, and of and in diverse other landes tenementes
rentes revercions services medowes leasures pastures
common cloasures glebe land tythes oblacions pooles
ryverres fysshinges myllnes warrens wastes and other
lyberties emolumentes profettes commodities advantages
and hereditamentes withe their appurtenances in Belvoire
Wollstropp and Denton in the said counties of Lincoln and
Leycestre, and also have perceive and take, one yerlie
rente of fortie and foure quarters of wheate rated yerlie
at five shillinges the quarter goinge and reserved yerlie
oute of and upon a ferme in Hoos in the countie of
Leicestre late in the tenure or occupacion of Lewys
Kempe, and allso fyftene quarters of wheate and thirtie
and foure quarters of mallte, rated yerlie at foure
poundes goinge and reserved yerlie oute of and upon
certen landes and tenementes in Barkston and Plungarthe
in the said countie of Leycestre, nowe or late beinge in
the severall tenures and occupacions of Roberte Groccke
Richard Towers Henrye Brygge John Towers Roberte Taylor
John Whyte Lewys Kempe and William Blage together with
all the said fermes in Hoos Barkston and Plungarth oute
of the whiche the said severall yerlie rentes of corne
and grayne is goinge and reserved yerlie to be paid, and
the same frome thenceforthe shall have perceive³³ take

³³ "and" is crossed out after this word.

and enioye to his and theire owne use and behous,
withoute enie lett interrupcion of ympedymnt of my said
wyfe or of enie of my said³⁴ executores. **Item wheras** by
the said former parte of my said last will and testament,
I did will that my said wyf or the residue named to be
myne executores or the survivor or survivores of them of
thissues revenues and profittes yerlie comynge and
rysinge of and in all and singuler the said³⁵ manores
landes tenementes and other the premisses appointed in
forme afforsaid for and towards the performance of my
said last will and testamente, shold well and truelie
contente and paye to Elizabethe my doughter for and
towards her avauncement maryage and preferrmente the
some of one thowsand poundes of lawfull moneye of
England, at certeyne dayes and tymes in the same lymyed.
Now I will furder that yf my said doughter will marrye
and take a husbond by the consent and advise of my said
wyf and of the right honorable and my dearlie beloved
brother George nowe Erle of Shrewsberye, and of my
brother John Manners, or of towe of them wherof my said
wyf to be one durynge her lyf, that then and not
otherwyse my said doughter shall furder have to enlarge
her porcion of thyssues revenues and profittes of the
same manores landes tenementes and other the premisses
lymitted to the performaunce of this my said will the

³⁴ This last word is interlined.

³⁵ These last two words are interlined.

some of fyve hundrethe markes to be paid unto her by even porcions at the dayes and tymes before lymited for the payment of the said thowsand poundes as is afforsaid, and where before in the same former parte of my said will I did will and bequeathe to my said doughter thirtie poundes to be paid yerlie unto her certeine yeres for and towards her exhibicion and fyndinge as by the same it appearthe. **Now I** will that the same legacye shalbe clearlie voyd for the same yerlie some of thirtie poundes. **And I** will that my said doughter shall have yerlie paid unto her or bestowed upon her by my said wyffe so longe as she shall lyve and admynistre as myne executor as is afforsaid, and after her decease or refusell as is afforsaid I will that the same shalbe yerlie paid by the said Sir Nicholas Bacon and the residue of myne executores and the survivor or survivors of them of the rentes yssues and profettes of my said manores landes tenementes and other the premisses lymitted and appoynted, as is afforsaid to and for the performaunce of my said last will and testament the some of fortie poundes of lawfull Englishe money, the whiche some of fortie poundes I will shalbe so yerlie paid or bestowed upon her as is afforsaid for and above her exhibicion and fyndinge unto suche tyme as she my said doughter shall happen to be maryed or receive or have the some of one thowsand pound parcell of her said legacye herin by me bequeathed paid to her or to her certeine

attorney to her use, by her nemed and appoynted. **Item I will and bequeathe** unto my suster Katheryn Capell the some of **C li.** withe this condicioin, that yf Sir Edward Capell knighte and my brother in lawe, Henrye Capell esquire, doo make sure unto my said susters use her joynture accordinge to the indenture and covenantes made for her maryage and all other estate and assuraunce accordinge to the wordes and true meaninge of the covenantes and agrementes of the said indentures of maryage, that then the same some shalbe whollie paid unto her and not otherwise. **Item I gyve** and bequeathe the some of **CC li** of lawfull Englishe monye to be levied and taken of the yssues rentes and revenues of my said manores landes tenementes and hereditamentes geven to the performance of this my last will and testament to be devided and delivered by my said wyf to suche and so manye of my houshold servantes and by suche porcions and somes as to her my said wyf shall seme good and convenient. **Item I will** that yf it shall fortune my said wyffe to departe forthe of this lyfe, before my said will shalbe in all thinges instlie and truelie performed, or yf my said wyffe shall refuse to administre and to be myne executor, then I will that my said brother George nowe Erle of Shrewsberye, Sir William Cecill knighte the quenenes [sic] maiesties pryncypall secretorye and master of her highnes wardes and lyveries my brother John Manners and Kellham Dygbye esquiers shalbe myne

executores withe the others before in my said former will
 named and appoynted, and I will that they and everie of
 them after the deathe or refusell of my said wyffe in
 everye poynte and behalfe shall joyne and be joyned withe
 my said former named executores in all poyntes receytes
 and doinges to all intentes and purposes as yf the hadd
 bene before named at everie tyme and in everie parte of
 this my said last will and testamente and scedule
 therunto annexed, where my said furste named executores
 are named, and I do geve and bequeathe to the said Erle
 xl li, to the said Sir William Cecill xl li, and to the
 said John Manners and Kelham Dygbye either of them xl li.
These beinge witnesses: [signed] William Thorold, Thomas
 Dysney.

Lincolnshire Archives
 11/1/1/1 & 2 (City Council Minutes)

LONDON

British Library

and Charter 836/1

MS. A.9.2.1-4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 216

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources

LEICESTERSHIRE

Belvoir Castle MSS

BCA 6, 11, 14, 25, 26A, 28-30, 50, 55, 59-61A, 62,
64-9, 271-6, 297-304, 306, 331-2, 507, 509,
690, 696-7, 699, 710-11, 736, 739, 876, 883-4,
889, 905, (Roos) 965-7, (Roos) 969, (Roos) 972-
3, (Rutland) 1141, (Rutland) 1145, (Rutland)
1147, (Rutland) 1153-4
BCAM 103 (Letter Box of Henry Digby 1548-1553)
BCB 1552
BCG 30-4, 45, 49, 51, 61, 64, 67-9, 71, 73-5, 79-82.
BCL i - iii
BCL&PS i
BCMD 1550 & 1552
BCW 14

CAMBRIDGE

Corpus Christi College
MSS 102, 114A

LINCOLNSHIRE

Lincolnshire Archives
L1/1/1/1 & 2 (City Council Minutes)

LONDON

British Library

Add Charter 65671

Add MSS 4934-8, 5753, 6113, 6297, 6307, 9069,
12462, 17012, 21116, 27447, 32647, 32657,
38133

Arundel MS 97

Cotton MSS Caligula B.I-III, B.VII,
Claudius CIII,
Cleopatra E.VI,
Titus B.I, B.IV,
Vespasian F.XIII,
Vitellius C.XI

Egerton MSS 1525, 2815, 3026

Harl MSS 3, 41, 169, 353, 540, 897, 5176, 6063, 6989

Lansdowne MSS 3, 75-6, 160, 162, 260

Royal MSS 2.B.VII (Queen Mary's Psalter), 18.C.XXIV

Seals CLXVI.8 & 9

Stowe MS 652

College of Arms
Garter Roll Muniment Room 6/41

Public Record Office, Chancery Lane

C1 (Early Chancery Proceedings)
C3 (Chancery Proceedings Series II)
C47 (Chancery Miscellanea)
C54 (Close Rolls)
C65 (Parliament Rolls)
C66 (Patent Rolls)
C82 (Warrants for the Great Seal Series II)
C142 (Inquisitions Post Mortem)
DURH 3 (Cursitor's Records)
E30 (Treasury of Receipt Diplomatic Documents)
E36 (Treasury of Receipt, Books)
E101 (King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various)
E137 (King's Remembrancer, Estreats)
E163 (King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea of the
Exchequer)
E179 (King's Remembrancer, Lay Subsidy Rolls)
E305 (Augmentation Office, Deeds of Purchase and
Exchange)
E310 (Augmentation Office, Particulars for
Leases)
E315 (Augmentation Office, Miscellanea Books)
E323 (Augmentation Office, Treasurer's Accounts)
E351 (Pipe Office, Declared Accounts)
E371 (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Originalia
Rolls)
E372 (Pipe Rolls)
HMC1 (HMC Archives, editorial correspondence)
IND (Index Volumes and Rolls)
KB8 (Baga de Secretis)
KB9 (Ancient Indictments)
LC4 (Entry Book of Recognizances)
LC5 (Miscellanea)
PC2 (Registers)
PROB 11 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Registered
Copy Wills)
SC6 (Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts)¹
SC12 (Rentals and Surveys, Portfolios)
SP1 (State Papers, Henry VIII)
SP2 (State Papers, Henry VIII, Folios)
SP3 (Lisle Papers)
SP7 (Wriothesley's Letters)
SP10 (State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI)
SP11 (State Papers, Domestic, Mary)
SP12 (State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth)
SP15 (State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, Edward VI-
James I)

¹ I thank Janice Housez for lending me her notes on this class of accounts.

SP 46 (State Papers Domestic, Supplementary)
 SP 49 (State Papers, Scotland, Series I, Henry VIII)
 SP 50 (State Papers, Scotland, Series I, Edward VI)
 SP 59 (State Papers, Scotland, Border Papers)
 SP 69 (State Papers, Foreign, General Series, Mary)
 STAC 5 (Star Chamber Proceedings, Elizabeth)
 WARD 7 (Court of Wards, Inquisitions Post Mortem)
 WARD 9 (Court of Wards, Misc. Books)

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

Ashmolean MSS 837, 848, 857, 1109, 1113, 1131, 1763
 Rawlinson MSS B 66, 77, 118, 144, 313-4; C 789

WILTSHIRE

Longleat House

Seymour Papers x [microfilm]

Printed Primary Sources

- Abstracts of Surrey Feet of Fines, 1509-1558, ed. Meekings, C.A.F., Surrey Record Society, xix (London, 1946).
- Acts of the Privy Council of England, ed. J. R. Dasent, new series, vols i-vii cover 1542-1570 (London 1890-3).
- Alumni Cantabrigiensis, eds J. & J.A. Venn, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922-7).
- Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, ed. J. Foster, iii (Oxford: 1892).
- Anglo, S. The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968).
- Appendix to the 49th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, no. 3 (London, 1888), pp. 213-360.
- Beltz, G. F. Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London, 1841).
- The Border Papers, ed. J. Bain, vol. 1 covers 1560-94 (Edinburgh, 1894).
- The Boston Assembly Minutes, 1545-1575, eds. P. & J. Clark, in The Lincoln Record Society 77 (Suffolk, 1987).
- Calendar of Carew MSS Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515-1574, ed. J.S. Brewer & W. Bullen i (London, 1867).
- Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward IV -- Henry VII, eds K.H. Leward & R.E. Latham, 3 vols (London, 1954-63).
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII, 3 vols (London, 1892-1955).
- Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, 13 vols & 2 supplements, ed. G.A. Bergenroth et alia (London, 1862-1954).
- Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, 21 vols. (London, 1914-1986).

Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Elizabeth, 3 vols (Record Commission, 1827-32).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 6 vols, eds R. Lemon, esq. & M.A.E. Green (London, 1856-1872).

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series: Edward VI, Mary, & Elizabeth, eds W.B. Turnbull et alia, vols 1-11 cover up to 1547-71 (London, 1861-1874).

Calendar of State Papers and MSS Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan, 1385-1618 (London, 1912).

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, ed. R. Brown et alia, 9 vols (London, 1865-1898).

Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, ed. J. Bain, 11 vols (Edinburgh & Glasgow, 1898-1936).

Calendar of State Papers, Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives Library, 1558-1571, ed. J.M. Rigg, 2 vols (London, 1916-26).

"The Cecil-Manners Marriage in the Chapel of Newark Castle, 1588", extracted & ill. by T. M. Blagg, (1900).

The Chronicle of Calais in the Reigns of Henry VIII & Henry VIII to 1540, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, no. 35 (London, 1846).

Chronicle of King Henry VIII, trans. M.A.S. Hume (London, 1889).

Chronicle of Queen Jane, ed. J.G. Nichols. Camden Society iil (London, 1850).

Cobbett, W. Parliamentary History of England i (London, 1806).

"A Collection of Original Letters From the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564" in The Camden Miscellany ix(3) (Westminster, 1895).

A Collection of State Papers ... Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley, ed. S. Haynes (London, 1740).

A Commentary of the Services and Charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G., Camden Society xl (London, 1847).

Cronica Del Rey Enrico Otavo de Ingalaterra (Madrid, 1874).

Deputy Keeper's Reports viii, app. ii (London, 1847).

The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society xlii (London, 1848).

Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, 3 vols, ed. J.W. Clay (Exeter, 1899-1917).

English Coronation Records, ed. L.G. Wickham (Westminster, 1901).

Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549, ed. D.S. Chambers, (Oxford, 1966).

First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS (London, 1874), pp. 10-2.

Foedera, Conventiones, Literae..., ed. T. Rymer, 3rd edn, 10 vols (The Hague, 1735-45).

Foxe, J. Acts and Monuments, ed. S.R. Cattley & G. Townsend, 8 vols (London, 1837-41).

Hall's Chronicle (London, 1809).

The Hamilton Papers (1532-90), ed. J. Bain, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1890-92).

Hayward, J. The Life of King Edward the Sixth, 1st edn (London, 1630).

Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties, 1530, ed. T. Tonge, Surtees Society xli (Durham, 1863).

Herald's Commemorative Exhibition, 1484-1934, Held at the College of Arms (London, 1936).

Historical Manuscripts Commission:

First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS, Appendix, (London, 1870), pp. 10-2 (Report on the MSS of the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle).

- The MSS of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle, eds H.C. Maxwell-Lyte *et alia*, i-ii (12th Rept., Appendix pts 4-5); iv (London, 1888-9, 1905).
- The MSS of Lincoln, Bury St. Edmund's, and Great Grimsby Corporations..., 14th Report, Appendix, pt viii. (London, 1895).
- The MSS of the Marquis of Bath, Preserved at Longleat, Wilts...., iv, Seymour Papers, 1532-1686 i, ed. M. Blatcher; v, ed. Talbot, Dudley, and Devereux Papers 1533-1659, ed. G.D. Owen (London, 1895-1980).
- The MSS of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, K.C., Preserved at Hatfield House, Herts. i (London, 1883).
- The MSS of the Right Honourable F.J. Savile Foljambe, of Osberton, 15th Appendix, pt. v (London, 1897).
- The Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers (JP6) i, Shrewsbury MSS in Lambeth Palace Library (MSS. 694-710), ed. C. Jamison (JP7); ii, Talbot Papers in the College of Arms, ed. G.R. Batho (London, 1966-71)
- Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS, pt 1, (London, 1879), pp. 596-681 ("The MSS of William More Molyneux, esq. of Loseley Park, Guildford, co. Surrey").
- Howes, E. Annales or a General Chronicle of England, Begun by John Stow (London, 1631).
- The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. T. Smith, 11 pts in 5 vols (London, 1907-1910).
- Journals of the House of Lords Beginning Anno Primo Henrici Octavi i (no date or place of publication).
- Journals of the House of Commons i (no date or place of publication).
- Latimer, H. Sermons, ed. for the Parker Soc. by Rev. G.E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844).
- Leicestershire Wills and Administrations, 1495-1649, ed. S.J. Madge, the British Record Society xxvii (London, 1902).

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer et alia, 21 vols. & Addenda (London, 1862-1932).

Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, ed. J. Gairdner, 2 vols (London, 1861-3).

Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain, ed. M.A.E. Wood, 3 vols (London, 1846).

Liljegren, S.B. The Fall of the Monasteries and the Social Changes in England Leading up to the Great Revolution. (Lund, 1924).

Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth, ed. J.G. Nichols, 2 vols (New York, 1857).

The MSS of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, ed. J.N. Dalton (Windsor, 1957).

Middlesex Pedigrees, ed. Sir G.J. Armytage, Harleian Society lxx (London, 1914).

Minutes of the Evidence Given Before the Committee of Privileges to Whom the Petition of... Charlotte Fitzgerald... Claiming... the Barony of Roos Was Referred (1804).

Norris, M.M. "The 2nd Earl of Rutland's Band of Men-at-Arms, 1551-2", in Historical Research, (Oxford, February, 1995), pp. 99-116.

Patten, W. Expedition Into Scotland... (London, 1548[/9]).

Pedigrees Contained in the Visitation of Derbyshire, 1569 and 1611 (Exeter, no date).

Pedigrees Recorded at the Herald's Visitations of the County of Northumberland, ed. J. Foster (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1891).

Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, 1540-2 vii, ed. Sir H. Nicolas (London, 1837).

Queen Mary's Psalter, intro. by Sir G. Warner (London, 1912).

Records of the Borough of Leicester, eds M. Batson et alia, 7 vols (Cambridge, 1899-1967).

- Records of the Borough of Nottingham, ed. W.H. Stevenson, vols iii-iv cover 1485-1625 (London, 1885-9).
- Roll of the Mayors of the Borough and Lord Mayors of the City of Leicester, 1209-1935, compiler H. Hartopp (Leicester, 1935).
- Rotuli Parliamentorum, 6 vols (London, 1771-83, index, 1832).
- Round, J.H. The King's Serjeants and Officers of State with Their Coronation Services (London, 1911).
- Rutland Papers, ed. W. Jerdan, Camden Society xxi (London, 1842).
- Shaw, W.A. The Knights of England, 2 vols (London, 1906).
- The Sherwood Forest Book, ed. H.E. Boulton, Thoroton Society Record Series xxiii (Nottingham, 1965).
- "State Papers Domestic: Supplementary", (these are in notebooks in the Round Room of the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane and additions are continually being made).
- State Papers Published Under the Authority of His Majesty's Commission: Henry VIII, 11 vols (London, 1830-52).
- Statutes of the Realm, ed. A. Luders et alia, 11 vols (1810-28).
- Stow, J. The Annales of England (London, 1592).
- Stow, J. The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England Continued and Augmented to 1614 by E. Howes, (London, 1615), see also the 1631 edn.
- Strype, J. Ecclesiastical Memorials II, ii (Oxford, 1822).
- Strype, J. The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Kt... (Oxford, 1821).
- Strype, J. Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer... i (Oxford, 1840).
- Surrey Feet of Fines, ed. C.A.F. Meekings, Surrey Record Society xix (London, 1946).
- Sussex Manors, Advowsons, Etc. Recorded in the Feet of Fines, 1509-1833 i, ed. Edwin H.W. Dunkin, Sussex

- Record Society xix (London, 1914).
- Testamenta Eboracensia. Surtees Society nos 4, 30, 45, 53, 79, 106 (London, 1865-1902).
- Testamenta Vetusta, ed. N.H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London, 1826).
- Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists, 1545 & 1576, ed. G.D. Ramsay, Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Society, Records Branch x (Devizes, 1954).
- Valor Ecclesiasticus, ed. J. Caley & J. Hunter, 6 vols (London, 1810-34).
- The Visitation of the County of Leicester, 1619, ed. J. Fetherston, Harleian Society ii (London, 1870).
- The Visitation of the County of Lincoln, 1592, ed. W.C. Metcalfe (London, 1882).
- The Visitation of London, 1568, ed. S.W. Rawlins, Harleian Society cix-cx (London, 1963).
- The Visitation of Norffolk, 1563, 1589, & 1613, ed. W. Rye, Harleian Society xxxii (London, 1891).
- The Visitation of Northumberland, 1615, ed. G.W. Marshall (London, 1878).
- The Visitation of Rutland, 1618-1619, ed. G.J. Armytage, Harleian Society iii (London, 1870).
- The Visitations of the County of Nottingham, 1569 & 1614, ed. G.W. Marshall, the Harleian Society iv (London, 1871).
- The Visitations of Kent 1574-1592, pt 2, ed. W.B. Bannerman, Harleian Society lxxv (London, 1924).
- The Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, Brig.-General Bulwer, 2 vols (Norwich, 1895).
- The Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, 1589 & 1613, ed. W. Rye, Harleian Society xxxii (London, 1891).
- Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1564 & 1618-1619, ed. W. Metcalfe (London, 1887).
- The Visitation of Yorkshire, 1584/5 & 1612, ed. J. Foster (London, 1875).

"The Vita Mariae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham," ed. & trans. by D. MacCulloch, Camden Miscellany xxviii, 4th series xix (London, 1984), pp. 181-301.

Weever, J. Antient Funeral Monuments (London, 1767).

Willoughby Letters of the First Half of the Sixteenth Century, ed. M.A. Walch, Thoroton Society Record Series xxiv, Nottinghamshire Miscellany, no. 4 for 1965 (Nottingham, 1967).

Wills and Inventories... of the Northern Counties of England, Surtees Society, nos 2, 38, 112, 142 (London, 1835-1919).

Worship, F. "An Account of a MS Genealogy of the Paston Family in the Possession of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle", in Norfolk Archaeology, iv, (Norwich, 1855), pp. 1-55.

Wriothesley, C. A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors from 1485 to 1559, ed. W.D. Hamilton, Camden Society, new series xi-xx (Westminster, 1875-77).

Secondary Sources

- Alexander, M.V.C. The First of the Tudors, A Study of Henry VII and His Reign (London, 1981).
- Allen, T. The History of the County of Lincoln, 2 vols. (London, 1834).
- Anglo, S. Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford, 1969).
- Ashton, R. "Aristocracy in Transition", in Economic History Review, 2nd Series, no. 2, xxii, (Hertfordshire, 1969), pp. 308-322.
- Aylmer, G.E. "The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641," in Past and Present, no. 32 for Dec. (Oxford, 1965), pp. 113-25.
- Baker, G. The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton, 2 vols (London, 1822-30).
- Bates, C.J. The Border Holds of Northumberland, 2 vols, (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1891).
- Bates, C.J. The History of Northumberland (London, 1895).
- Beard, C.A. The Office of Justice of the Peace in England in its Origin and Development (New York, 1904).
- Beaven, A.B. The Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1913).
- Bell, H.E. An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries (Cambridge, 1953).
- Bernard, G.W. The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility (Sussex, 1985).
- Besant, Sir W. et alia. The Fascination of London Shoreditch and the East End (London, 1908).
- Beer, Barrett L. Northumberland, the Political Career of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (Kent State Univ. Press, 1973).
- Bevan, A.S. "JPs, 1509-1547: an Additional Source" in the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, lviii (London, 1985).

- Bindoff, S.T. The House of Commons 1509-1558, 3 vols., in The History of Parliament (London, 1982).
- Black, C.J. "The Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire 1529 to 1558," unpub. Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 1966).
- Black, J.B. The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603, in The Oxford History of England (Oxford, 1988).
- Blair, C.H.H. "Sheriffs of Northumberland," in Archaeologia Aeliana xx (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1942).
- Blair, C.H.H. "Wardens and Deputy Wardens of the Marches of England Towards Scotland, in Northumberland," in Archaeologia Aeliana 4th series xxviii (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1950).
- Blomefield, F. An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk i (Fersfield, 1739).
- Bowker, M. The Henrician Reformation. The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547 (Cambridge, 1981).
- Burstall, E.B. "The Pastons and Their Manor of Binham", in Norfolk Archaeology xxx (Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1952), pp. 101-29.
- Bush, M.L. The Government Policy of Protector Somerset (London, 1975).
- Bush, M.L. "The Problem of the Far North: A Study of the Crisis of 1537 and its Consequences," in Northern History vi (Leeds, 1971), pp. 40-63.
- The Church, Politics, and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century, ed. R.B. Dobson (New York, 1984).
- C[okayne], G.E. The Complete Peerage, ed. V. Gibbs et alia, 12 vols (London, 1910-1959).
- Coleman, D.C. "The 'Gentry' Controversy and the Aristocracy in Crisis: 1558-1641", in History, new series li (The Historical Association, 1966), pp. 165-178.
- Collins, A. The Peerage of England (London, 1709 & 1779).
- Collins's Peerage of England, augmented by Sir E. Brydges (London, 1812).

- Cook, D.R. Lancastrians and Yorkists: the Wars of the Roses (New York, 1984).
- Cornwall, J. Revolt of the Peasantry 1549 (London, 1977).
- Coward, Barry. The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, 1385-1672, Chetham Soc., 3rd ser xxx (Manchester, 1983).
- Crimes, S.B. Henry VII (London, 1972).
- Cross, Claire. The Puritan Earl; The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon, 1536-1595 (London, 1966).
- Cruickshank, C.G. Army Royal, Henry VIII's Invasion of France, 1513 (Oxford, 1969).
- Cruickshank, C.G. The English Occupation of Tournai 1513-1519 (Oxford, 1971).
- Cullen, M.J. "Lawrence Stone & the Manors", Economic History Review, series 2, xxiv, no. 1 (Hertfordshire, 1971), pp. 114-5.
- Curling, J.B. Some Account of the Ancient Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms (London, 1850).
- Dictionary of National Biography, 22 vols with supplement (London, 1917).
- Dietz, F.C. English Government Finance 1485-1558 (Urbana, 1921).
- Dodds, M.H. and Dodds, R. The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-1537, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1915).
- Doran, S. "The Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman and Royal Servant: A case Study of Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex," in Historical Research lxi (London, 1988), pp. 286-300.
- Doyle, J.E. The Official Baronage of England, 3 vols (London, 1886).
- Dugdale, W. The Baronage of England (1676).
- Dunham, W. H. Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461-1483, Trans. of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences xxxix (New Haven, Connecticut, 1955).

- Eaves, R.G. Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy, 1513-1524. (New York, 1971).
- Eller, Rev. I. The History of Belvoir Castle (London, 1841).
- Ellis, C. History in Leicester 55 B.C. - A.D. 1900 (Leicester, 1948).
- Ellis, H. The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Saint Leonard Shoreditch, and the Liberty of Norton Folgate in the Suburbs of London (London, 1798).
- Elton, G.R. Reformation Europe 1517-1559 (London, 1963).
- Elton, G.R. Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558, (London, 1977).
- Fisher, A.L. The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII 1485-1547, in The Political History of England v (London, 1906).
- Fletcher, A. Tudor Rebellions (London, 1973).
- Fuller, T. The Church History of Britain (London, 1655).
- Gammon, S.R. Statesman and Schemer (Hamden, Connecticut, 1973).
- Garrett, C.H. The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938).
- Gimson, B.L. & Russell, P. Leicestershire Maps, a Brief Survey (Leicester, 1947).
- Graves, M.A.R. The House of Lords in the Parliaments of Edward VI and Mary I (Cambridge, 1981).
- Gray, D. Nottingham Through 500 Years (Nottingham, 1960).
- Griffiths, R.A. & Sherborne, J. Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages (Gloucester, 1986).
- Gunn, S.J. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, c.1484-1545 (Oxford, 1988).
- Guy, J.A. The Court of Star Chamber and Its Records to the Reign of Elizabeth I, PRO Handbooks no. 21 (London, 1985).
- Guy, J.A. Tudor England (Oxford, 1990).

- Haigh, Christopher. English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors (Oxford, 1993).
- Hall, H. Society in the Elizabethan Age, 4th edn (London, 1901).
- Harris, J. The History of Kent, 5 pts (London, 1719).
- Hasler, P.W. The House of Commons 1558-1603, 3 vols, in The History of Parliament (London, 1981).
- Hasted, E. The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent vi (Canterbury, 1798).
- Hayward, Sir J. The Life of King Edward VI (1630)
- Hedley, W.P. Northumberland Families, 2 vols (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970).
- Hill, J.W.F. Medieval Lincoln (Cambridge, 1948).
- Hinde, J. A History of Northumberland, pt I (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1858). See Hodgson, J. for pts II-III.
- A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx, and District, ed. John McDonnell. (Helmsley and Area Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1963).
- A History of Northumberland, ed. E. Bateson *et alia* 15 vols (The Northumberland County History Committee, 1893-1940).
- The History of Northumbria. By A Northumbrian (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1865).
- Hoak, D.E. The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge, 1976).
- Hodgett, G.A.J. Tudor Lincolnshire, in History of Lincolnshire vi (Lincoln, 1975).
- Hodgson, J. A History of Northumberland, pt II, vols. i-iii & part III, vols. i-iii (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1820-1840). See Hinde, J. for pt I.
- Hodson, (Vicar) G.H. & Ford, E. A History of Enfield in the County of Middlesex Including Its Royal and Ancient Manors... (Enfield, 1873).
- Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 6 vols (London, 1807-8).

- Horsfield, T.W. The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex, 2 vols (London, 1835).
- Hoskins, W.G. Essays in Leicestershire History (Liverpool, 1950).
- Hoyle, R.W. "The First Earl of Cumberland: A Reputation Reassessed", in Northern History xxii (Leeds, 1986).
- Hurstfield, J. The Queen's Wards (London, 1958).
- Ives, E.W. Anne Boleyn (Oxford, 1986).
- James, M.E. "Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: The Lincolnshire Rebellion, 1536," in Past and Present, no. 48, (Past and Present Society, 1970), pp. 3-78.
- John, L.C. "Roger Manners, Elizabethan Courtier", in Huntingdon Library Quarterly xii (San Marino, California, 1948-9).
- Jones, P.V.B. The Household of a Tudor Nobleman (Chicago, 1917).
- Jordan, W.K. Edward VI: The Threshold of Power (London, 1970).
- Jordan, W.K. Edward VI: The Young King (London, 1968).
- Kendall, A. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (London, 1980).
- Kendall, P.M. Warwick the Kingmaker (London, 1957).
- Knowles, D. The Religious orders of England iii (Cambridge, 1959).
- Knowles, D. & Handcock, R.N. Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales (London, 1953).
- Lacey, Robert. The Life and Times of Henry VIII (London, 1972).
- Lancaster, W.T. The Early History of Ripley and the Ingilby Family; with some Account of the Roos Family of Ingmanthorpe (Leeds, 1918).
- Lapsley, G.T. "The Problem of the North", in American Historical Review v (London, 1900), pp. 440-6.
- Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries, ed. J. & T. Spencer i-iii (Leicester, 1891-3).

- Loach, J. Parliament Under the Tudors (Oxford, 1991).
- Loades, D.M. The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553-1558 (London, 1979).
- Lloyd, D. State Worthies, 2nd edn (London, 1670).
- Loades, D. Mary Tudor, a Life (Oxford, 1989).
- MacCaffrey, W.T. "England: The Crown and the New Aristocracy, 1540-1600," in Past and Present no. 30, April 1965, pp. 52-64.
- MacCaffrey, W.T. The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime (London, 1969).
- Mack, J. L. The Border Line (Edinburgh, 1926).
- Mackie, J.D. The Earlier Tudors, in The Oxford History of England, 1485-1558 (Oxford, 1972).
- Mathew, D. Lady Jane Grey: the Setting of the Reign (London, 1972).
- Memorials of Old Leicestershire, ed. Dryden, A., in Memorials of the Counties of England (London, 1911).
- Mertes, K. The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule (Oxford, 1988).
- The Mid-Tudor Polity, c.1540-1560, ed. Loach, J. & Tittler, R (London, 1980).
- Miller, E. "The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 by L. Stone", as in The Historical Journal ix, no. 1, (London, 1966), pp. 133-6.
- Miller, H. Henry VIII and the English Nobility (Oxford, 1986).
- Miller, H. "Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century," in the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xxviii (London, 1955), pp. 15-34.
- Morant, P. The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex, 2 vols (London, 1768).
- Neale, Sir J.E. The Elizabethan House of Commons. (London, 1949).
- Nichols, J. The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicestershire, 4 vols (London, 1795).

- Palliser, D.M. "Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York in the Sixteenth Century," unpub. D.Phil thesis (New College, Oxford, 1968).
- Palliser, D.M. Tudor York (Oxford, 1979).
- Parkin, Rev. C. An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk ii, xvii, ix, xi (London, 1808).
- Pease, H. The Lord Wardens of the Marches of England and Scotland (London, 1913).
- Pennington, D.H. "The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 by Lawrence Stone", in English Historical Review li, no. 30 (London, 1966), pp. 562-5.
- Pollard, A.F. England Under Protector Somerset (London, 1900).
- Poulson, G. The History and Antiquities of the Seigniorship of Holderness in the East-Riding of the County of York Including the Abbies of Meaux and Swine, with the Priories of Nunkeeling and Burstall, 2 vols (Hull, 1841).
- Powell, J.E. & Wallis, K. The House of Lords in the Middle Ages (London, 1968).
- Purcell, D. "The De Thorp Tomb at Ashwellthorp", in Norfolk Archaeology xxxiv (Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1969), pp. 253-8.
- Raine, Rev. J. The History and Antiquities of North Durham (London, 1852).
- Reid, R.R. The King's Council in the North (London, 1921).
- Reid, R.R. "The Office of Warden of the Marches; Its Origin and Early History", in English Historical Review xxxii (London, 1917), pp. 479-496.
- Richardson, W.C. History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-54 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1961).
- Rivals in Power, Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties, ed. David Starkey (New York, NY, 1990).
- Russell, J.G. The Field of Cloth of Gold, Men and Manners in 1520 (London, 1969).
- Sanford, J.L. & Townsend, M. The Great Governing

- Families of England, 2 vols (London, 1865).
- Savine, Alexander. English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution, in Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History i, ed. Paul Vinogradoff (Oxford, 1909).
- Scarisbrick, J.J. Henry VIII (London, 1968).
- Scarisbrick, J.J. "Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Secular Colleges", in Law and Government Under the Tudors, eds Claire Cross, David Loades, & J.J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 51-66.
- Scarisbrick, J.J. The Reformation and the English People (Oxford, 1984).
- Scotland, James V - James VII, ed. Donaldson, G., in Edinburgh History of Scotland iii (Edinburgh, 1978).
- Seaton, E. Sir Richard Roos (London, 1961).
- Seymour, W. Ordeal by Ambition: An English Family in the Shadow of the Tudors (London, 1972).
- Sil, Narasingha P. William Lord Herbert of Pembroke (c.1507-1570) Politique and Patriot, in Studies in British History 6 (Lewiston, NY, 1988).
- Slavin, A.J. "The Tudor State, Reformation, and Understanding Change: Through the Looking Glass", in Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth, eds P.A. Fideler & T.F. Mayer (London, 1992), pp. 223-53.
- Starkey, David. The Reign of Henry VIII, Personalities and Politics (New York, NY, 1986).
- Stone, L. "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy", in The Economic History Review xviii, nos. 1-2 (London, 1948).
- Stone, L. Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1966).
- Stone, L. "The Elizabethan Aristocracy - A Restatement," in Economic History Review, series 2, iv, no. 3 (London, 1952), pp. 302-321.
- Stone, L. Family and Fortune (Clarendon Press, 1973).
- Stow, J. A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, 2 vols (1755).

- Swenson, P.C. "Noble Hunters of the Romish Fox: Religious Reform at the Tudor court, 1543-1564", unpub. Ph.D. thesis (Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 1981).
- Thomson, G.S. Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1923).
- Thoroton, R. The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, ed. and enlarged by J. Throsby, 3 vols (Yorkshire, 1972).
- Throsby, J. Select Views in Leicestershire, 2 vols (Leicester, 1789-90).
- Tighe, W.J. "A Nottinghamshire Gentleman in Court and Country: the Career of Thomas Markham of Ollerton (1530-1607)," Transactions of Thoronton Society of Nottinghamshire, xc, for 1986 (Nottingham, 1987), pp. 30-45.
- Tittler, R. "Elizabethan Towns and the 'Points of Contact': Parliament," Parliament History, viii., (Oxford, 1989), pp. 275-288.
- Tittler, R. The Reign of Mary I (London, 1983).
- Tomlinson, W.W. Life in Northumberland During the Sixteenth Century (London, no date).
- Trevor-Roper, H.R. "The Elizabethan Aristocracy: An Anatomy Anatomized," in The Economic History Review, 2nd series, iii, no. 3 (London, 1951), pp. 279-298.
- Trevor-Roper, H. R. "The Gentry 1540-1640," in The Economic History Review Supplements i (London, no date).
- The Tudor Nobility, ed. Bernard, G. W. (Manchester, 1992).
- Victoria History of the Counties of England (1900-present).
- A Volume of Miscellanea ix (The Publications of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Records Committee, 1930).
- Wedgwood, J.C. Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509, in History of Parliament. (London, 1936).
- Wernham, R.B. Before the Armada: The Emergence of the English Nation, 1485-1588 (New York, 1966).

- Whalley, Rev. P. The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire Compiled from the MSS Collections of John Bridges, Esq., 2 vols (Oxford, 1791).
- Wheatly, H.B. London Past and Present, 3 vols (London, 1891).
- Willen, Diane. John Russell, First Earl of Bedford, One of the King's Men (London, 1981).
- Williams, N. Henry VIII and His Court (London, 1971).
- Wilson, D. Sweet Robin: A Biography of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1533-1588 (London, 1981).
- Wolffe, B. Henry VI (London, 1981).